

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF EDMUND BONNER

BISHOP OF LONDON

UNTIL HIS DEPRIVATION IN 1549

GINA MARY VERE ALEXANDER

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## Abstract

The conventional picture of Bishop Bonner as the "butcherly beast" of the Marian persecutions has never been seriously investigated. Discussion of the problems of his family and his education, together with a study of his service in Wolsey's household and his relationship with Thomas Cromwell form the first part of this thesis. Bonner's diplomatic career as Henry VIII's ambassador in Rome, Germany, France and Spain between 1532 and 1543 as well as his government service in England between 1535 and 1547 are next considered. The diocesan financial structure and Bonner's policy in clerical appointments have been analyzed for both halves of his episcopate, the nature of the sources rendering it necessary to consider his episcopal administration as a whole. Finally the development of Bonner's theological views up to 1549 and the story of his trial in that year complete this study.

Bonner's was a complex personality, quarrelsome and rude, yet probably obsequious and time-serving. He was certainly ambitious and clever, but he seems to have lacked both statesmanship and judgment. This is the picture of him as he was before he participated in the storms of the Marian Counter-Reformation.

Much of the material for this thesis has been taken from the State Papers. There are, however, three other main manuscript sources which have been used. The Lechmere papers in the Worcestershire Record Office throw some light on Bonner's early youth and the volume of his despatches in the Yelverton collection in the British Museum reveals his activity in the winter of 1535-1536. The account books of the Bishop of London's Receiver-General for 1526-1527 and 1567-1568 in the Guildhall Library and the account rolls for 1549-1550 and 1555-1556 in the Public Record Office provide the basis for the analysis of the Bishop's diocesan administration.

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### Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used:

- A.P.C.      Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1540-1591, ed. H.Nicholas and J.R.Dasent, 1837-1900.
- B.M.        British Museum.
- C.P.R.      Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1485-1563, ed. H.C.Maxwell-Lyte, R.H.Brodie and M.S.Guiseppi, 1914-1939.
- D.N.B.      Dictionary of National Biography.
- E.H.R.      The English Historical Review.
- G.L.        Guildhall Library.
- Hen.        G.Hennessey, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, or London Diocesan Clergy Succession from the Earliest Time to the Year 1898, 1898.
- Lechmere    Lechmere Manuscripts, Worcestershire County Record Office, 705/134.
- Le Neve     J. Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, or a Calendar of the Principal Ecclesiastical Dignitaries in England and Wales and of the Chief Officers in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, ed. T.D.Hardy, 1854.
- L.P.        Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, ed. J.S.Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H.Brodie, 1862-1929.
- New.        R.Newcourt, Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense: An Ecclesiastical Parochial History of the Diocese of London, 1708, 1710.
- P.C.C.      Will Registers, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Somerset House.
- P.R.O.      Public Record Office.
- Reg. Bon.    Register Bonner, 1539-1549, 1553-1559, Register Thirlby, 1540-1550, Register Ridley, 1550-1553,; Guildhall Library Ms. 9531/12.

Reg. Grin. Register Grindall, 1559-1570: Guildhall Library  
Ms. 9531/13.

Sp.Cal. Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, 1535-1558, ed.  
P. de Gayengos, M.A.Hume, R.Tyler and G.Mattingley,  
1873-1954.

St.P. State Papers, Published under the Authority of His  
Majesty's Commission, ed. R.Lemon, 1830-1852.

Valor. Valor Ecclesiasticus. Temp. Hen. VIII. Auctoritate  
Regia Institutus, 1810-1834.

V.C.H. Victoria County History, Hertford, ed. W.Page, 1902-1914.  
Lancaster, ed. W.Farrer and  
J.Brownbill, 1906-1914.  
Rutland, ed. W.Page, 1908, 1935.  
Surrey, ed. H.E.Malden, 1902-1912.  
Worcester, ed. J.W.Willis-Bund,  
H.A.Doubleday and W.Page, 1901-  
1924.  
York, ed. W.Page, 1907-1913.

Ven.Cal. Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1527-1554, ed.  
R.Brown, 1867-1873.

Figures after L.P., and Ven.Cal. refer to the volumes and to the numbers of the documents in the respective series. Manuscripts in the P.R.O. are referred to by their call numbers: a full description is given in the bibliography. In quotations words have been extended, the letters noted by omission signs in the text being placed in brackets. A double comma before and after a word signifies that in the manuscript it is an insertion. The end of a line in a manuscript is marked by a stroke in the transcript and the end of a page by a double stroke. Spelling and punctuation have not been altered. The titles of books have been given in shortened form in the notes, but a full description will be found in the bibliography.

## Introduction

Sectarian bias coloured the verdicts which Bishop Bonner's contemporaries passed on him. To the Catholic apologist, Thomas Harding, he was "a constant Confessour of God",<sup>1</sup> but to the martyrologist, John Foxe, he was "that bloody wolf" and to a Protestant pamphleteer, "bocherly brother Boner, turning like wethercockes, ersy vercy, as the wynde bloweth".<sup>2</sup>

On the whole Catholic and Anglo-Catholic historians have accepted Harding's verdict and Protestant writers have followed Foxe. For instance Father Philip Hughes, while admitting that Bonner had preached and written in defence of the Royal Supremacy, declared that Bonner, Tunstall and Gardiner were "three of the most experienced the most capable and the most disinterested of all the Crown's servants" in the reign of Mary.<sup>3</sup> Father Pollen described Bonner as "courageous".<sup>4</sup> Canon Dixon, writing at the end of the nineteenth century declared that Bonner "was not a man of great

1. T.Harding, A reioindre To M.Iewels Replie Against the Sacrifice of the Masse, 1567, f. 252v.
2. J.Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J.Pratt and J.Stoughton, viii (1877), p.414; M.Wood, ed. and trans., De Vera Obediencia An ORation made...by...Stephan B. of Winchestre...with the preface of Edmund Boner..., 1553, f. A iiiv. Mr. W.T.Davies considered that Bale had probably had a hand in the composition of this edition of the De Vera: W.T.Davies, "A Bibliography of John Bale", Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings and Papers, v for 1936-1939, 1940, p.239.
3. P.Hughes, Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England, 1942, p.89
4. J.H.Pollen, The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1920, p.35.

character: he was something of a buffoon: but he was not the monstrous brute that has been painted over his name".<sup>5</sup> On the other hand the seventeenth-century historian, Burnet, wrote that Bonner "was a cruel and fierce man...he was looked on generally as a man of no principle",<sup>6</sup> and Strype went so far as to say that he was "that bloody man...commonly reported to be an atheist, and to have said secretly, that there was no such place of torment as hell; that he denied God, the scriptures, and any life after this; and that he used conjuring and witchcraft".<sup>7</sup>

But neither Catholic nor Protestant have devoted to Bonner the study he deserves. There have been two biographies of this Reformation bishop. One, The Life and Defence of the Conduct and Principles of the Venerable and Calumniated Edmund Bonner...by a Tractarian British Critic, was published in 1842. It was a sarcastic eulogy of Bonner as the "firm uncompromising, advocate of the Anti-Protestant system".<sup>8</sup> The second, published in 1910, was a short pamphlet written for the Catholic Truth Society. The author,

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5. R.W.Dixon, History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction, iv, 1891, p.366.

6. G.Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, 1865, ii, p.228.

7. J.Strype, Annals of the Reformation, 1 (ii), 1824, p.298.

8. (G.Townsend) The Life and Defence of the Conduct and Principles of the Venerable and Calumniated Edmund Bonner...by a Tractarian British Critic, 1842, p.347.

G.E.Phillips was determined to assure Bonner a place in the roll of Catholic martyrs and one third of his work was devoted to Bonner's sufferings in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>9</sup>

A new assessment of Edmund Bonner's life and career is now needed. As will be seen, he could hardly have been called a saint or a great statesman, but he was intimately concerned in some of the most important events of his age. He was an ardent exponent of the Henrician Reformation. It was he who, when Clement VII was Francis I's guest at Marseilles, delivered to the Pope Henry VIII's ultimatum: the appeal from the Pope's authority to that of a General Council, by which Henry formally ushered in the Reformation.

In the winter of 1535-1536 Bonner was closely involved in the abortive attempt to gain the crown of Denmark for Henry VIII. Bonner's embassy to France from 1538-1540 ended in his recall at the insistent demand of Francis I and his conduct of this mission contributed indirectly to the fall of Thomas Cromwell. Bonner had seen at first hand the difficulties with which Henry was faced as a result of the alliance of the Emperor and the French King, but his experience of politics on a European scale does not seem to have given a greater depth to his opinions or to have modified his behaviour.

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9. G.E.Phillips, The Truth about Bishop Bonner, Catholic Truth Society, (1910). See also G.E.Phillips, The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy, 1905, pp.296-304.

In Edward's reign Bonner moved from participation in political and ecclesiastical changes to obstruction. The exponent of Henrician anti-papalism became a stalwart defender of the mass. When, in 15<sup>5</sup>3, Bonner was released from his imprisonment under Edward, he welcomed the Marian restoration of papal supremacy, and faithfully applied the policies which were so completely to damage the cause Queen Mary hoped to defend. In Elizabeth's reign he was still active. Even when incarcerated in the Marshalsea he was able to create difficulties for the government by questioning the legality of the Act of Supremacy of 1559, which had determined the nature of the Elizabethan settlement of religion. Bonner not only witnessed during his lifetime all the vicissitudes of the Reformation in England, but was, also, one of the most prominent participants in them.

Detailed study of Bonner's career may modify the picture drawn by Foxe and Harding in so far as he emerges as a much more complex personality than has hitherto been imagined. He combined good intellectual gifts with a surprising lack of tact and statesmanship. He was driven by a greedy ambition in his struggles to obtain preferment and diplomatic commissions. He was loyal to some of his friends, but ready to quarrel violently with others. His abject servility to Cromwell conflicted with an arrogance which infuriated the princes to whom he was accredited as Henry VIII's ambassador. His caution sometimes made him disguise his convictions, but on other occasions he flaunted them with a real disregard

for his own safety.

It has not been possible to make a new study of the Marian persecutions, and of Bonner's part in them, for this thesis. Many portraits of Bonner up to now have, however, been distorted by an undue concentration on his behaviour between 1555 and 1558, and it is to be hoped that this study of his career and of the development of his character will shed new light on a controversial Reformation prelate.



Part One: Youth and Early Manhood

## Chapter 1.

### Edmund Bonner's Family.

There are many puzzles and discrepancies in the life of Edmund Bonner. Of these problems none is so difficult to solve and few have been so confused by prejudice as the identity of his family. This, and the circumstances of his childhood, have been a matter of conjecture.<sup>1</sup> Nothing definite is known of him until 1512 when he entered Broadgates' Hall, Oxford,<sup>2</sup> probably at the age of 13 or 14. However, conflicting traditions suggest that Bonner was either the son of a poor man, William Bonner, or the illegitimate son of a member of the great northern family of Savage.

In the sixteenth century illegitimacy was not a bar to ecclesiastical advancement. Cuthbert Tunstal, the distinguished Bishop of Durham, was a bastard of a well-known Northern family. Wolsey's son Thomas Wynter held many important benefices, among them the deanery of Wells.<sup>3</sup> The social position of the illegitimate

1. The seventeenth-century historian, Burnet, accepted the story of Bonner's illegitimacy, as did Prof. Pollard. Two biographers of Bonner dismissed it. The scholar who made the most recent attempt to resolve the problem of Bonner's birth did not use the Lechmere manuscripts and consequently oversimplified the issue: G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, ed. N. Pocock, ii, 1865, pp. 446-447, A. F. Pollard, "Bonner, Edmund," Encyclopedia Britannica, iv, 1910, pp. 210-211, (G. Townsend), Life and Defence of Bonner... by a Tractarian British Critic, 1842, p. 2, G. E. Phillips, The Truth about Bishop Bonner, 1910, p. 1, L. B. Smith, Tudor Prelates and Politics, 1536-1558, Princeton Studies in History, viii, 1953, App. 1, pp. 298-300.
2. J. Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, 1500-1574, n.d., p. 148.
3. C. Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstall, 1938, pp. 3-7, A. F. Pollard, Wolsey, 1953, pp. 305-312.

child in the sixteenth century is less clear. The ease with which the Duke of Richmond was accepted at his father's court is not necessarily a guide to the attitudes of the gentry or the clergy to bastards of their own class. However tolerant the age may have been, the illegitimate child may have grown up with a sense of inferiority and frustration which would in one way or another affect his mature behaviour.

But even where social acceptance came most readily, it may not always have compensated for the legal disabilities of illegitimacy. The bastard was penalized both in common law and in canon law. According to the common law the illegitimate child could not inherit property, nor was he legitimated if his parents married after his birth. His position was somewhat different under canon law: if his parents had suffered from no canonical impediment at the time of his birth, their subsequent marriage rendered him legitimate. By this code if a bastard whose parents had not married after his birth wished to enter the priesthood, he required a dispensation before he could be validly ordained. By the sixteenth century dispensations for bastardy were granted almost as a matter of course to all who could afford them.<sup>4</sup>

The first hint that Bonner was illegitimate comes in a letter written by Thomas Wynter to Cromwell on 20 October 1532. Complaining of Bonner's threats and harshness to him, Wynter wrote that he

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4. W.Hooper, The Law of Illegitimacy, 1911, pp. 24, 90; W.Hooper, "The Court of Faculties", E.H.R., xxv, 1910, p.673.

was particularly distressed since on his deathbed the Cardinal had commended him to Bonner "quasi fratrem fratri".<sup>5</sup> Wynter may only have used this phrase the more to move Cromwell with his story of Bonner's unkindnesses. On the other hand, if Bonner were, like Wynter, the bastard of a priest, the Cardinal may have wished his chaplain and his son, both facing similar problems, to look after each other's interests.

The story that Bonner was a bastard was first published in 1543 when Bale, writing under the pseudonym of John Harryson, declared that "a prestes sonne...was my lorde Bonner of London by report of his next neybers".<sup>6</sup> In his Declaration published in 1561 Bale wrote that he had heard "by able and sufficient wytnesses" that Bonner's father was a Sir George Savage and that his mother "gave him her own surname Bonner".<sup>7</sup> Bale's prejudice against Bonner

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5. P.R.O.: S.P.1/71, ff.142-143 (L.P., V.1452).

6. J.Harryson, Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe. A dysclosynge or openynge of the Manne of synne, Co(n)tayned in the late Declaration of the Popes olde faythe made by Edmonde Boner bysshopp of London..., 1543, f.73r. The imprint "O.Jacobsen, Zurik" is stated in the B.M.catalogue to be false, and the book was probably published in England. In his bibliography of Bale's works Mr.J.W. Harris ascribed this book to John Bale: J.W.Harris, + "John Bale A study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation", Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, xxv, 4, 1940, pp.139-140; see A.W.Pollard and G.R.Redgrave, ed.s., A Short-Title Catalogue, The Bibliographical Society, 1926, p.30.

7. J.Bale, A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles, concerning the cleargye of Lo(n)don dyocese whereby that excerable Antychriste, is in his righte colours reveled in the yeare of our Lord a. 1554, 1561, f. 17r. The preface to this work ends "wrytten from Basile in Helvetia an. 1554", but the volume was printed in London by John Tysdall in 1561. Mr. W.T.Davies did not elucidate the problem of these conflicting dates: W.T.Davies, "A Bibliography of John Bale", Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings and Papers v for 1936-1939, 1940, pp.243, 273. Bale referred to the deaths of John Porter and Richard Mekins and then mentioned the "exceedinge number of Christen marttres, nowe of late days". Foxe the

was extreme and undisguised, and little weight can be placed on his testimony. Nevertheless, either Bale invented this story or he repeated a rumour which was already current in 1543. Although Foxe, another contemporary hostile to Bonner, did not discuss the Bishop's parentage, he recorded a verse which has this line: "Qui patre Savago natus, falsoque Bonerus/ Dicitur".<sup>8</sup> It has been suggested that Foxe's failure to elaborate the suggestion of illegitimacy in this poem meant that the martyrologist did not believe the story.<sup>9</sup>

In 1569 a satirical pamphleteer, Avale, in the preface to his Commemoration or Dirige of Bastarde Edmonde Boner emphasized that Bonner was illegitimate in order to deny his orders: "Bonner was a Bastarde, ergo no bishop".<sup>10</sup> It is unfortunate that

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7 (cont.) martyrologist placed the deaths of Porter and Mekins in 1541: Bale, op.cit., f.12v., J.Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J.Pratt and J.Stoughton, v, (1877), pp.441-442. Marian persecutions had not begun in London in 1554. It is probable that even if the Declaration were written in 1554 it was revised and expanded before its publication in 1561.

8. Foxe, op.cit., viii, p.482. This poem was in the first edition of 1563.

9. S.R.Maitland, Essays on subjects connected with the Reformation in England, 1849, p.59. Maitland argued at length that the story of Bonner's illegitimacy was a fabrication of his enemies.

10. L.Avale, A Commemoration or Dirige of Bastarde Edmonde Boner, alias Savage, usurped Bisshoppe of London, 1569, f. A ii. See also f. A v, where Avale capitulated the argument of the preface. "R.W." in A recantation of famous Pasquin of Rome, 1570, f. D. i, described Bonner as the illegitimate son of "Syr Savage," but did not question his orders.

exhaustive search in the lists of ordinations conducted by the Bishops of Worcester and Lincoln and their suffragans has failed to reveal any record of Bonner's ordination either to the diaconate or the priesthood. If he were illegitimate a reference that a dispensation for bastardy had been procured might have been appended to the entry of his ordination.<sup>11</sup> The record of Bonner's consecration as Bishop of London would not necessarily have included such a note. Although theoretically a base-born priest required a fresh dispensation at each translation or promotion, in fact the first dispensation might relieve the applicant from the need of mentioning his defect in future. Even if it were possible to prove that Bonner was illegitimate, the absence of a reference to a dispensation in the note of his consecration would not be surprising.<sup>12</sup>

At the end of the seventeenth century Strype examined the problem of Bonner's birth fully and on consideration found the evidence for Bonner's illegitimacy convincing. In the Annals of  
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11. At Worcester all the ordination lists in the following Registers were checked: Worcestershire County Record Office: Register de Giglis, 1498-1521, ff.149-172, 205-209; Register Ghinucci, 1522-1535, (checked up to 1527), ff. 3, 85, 86-86v, At Lincoln the ordination lists in Register No. XXV: Register Wolsey, 1514, Register Atwater, 1514-1520, and Register No. XXVI: Register Longland, 1521-1547, were checked up to 1528. Nor is there any trace of Bonner in the ordination lists at Hereford between 1517 and 1535: A.T.Bannister, ed., Registrum Caroli Bothe, Episcopi Herefordensis A.D. MDXVI-MDXXXV, Canterbury and York Society, xxviii, 1921, pp.304-330. In the lists of ordinations at Worcester in 1510 there is a note for a dispensation for illegitimacy. It is ironical that as Wolsey's commissary for the faculties Bonner was probably in charge of granting dispensations for bastardy: see below, chap. 2, p.55.

12. Reg. Bon., f.131.

the Reformation Strype recorded a conversation he had had with Sir Nicholas Lechmere, Baron of the Exchequer and great-grandson of Bonner's friend and servant Richard Lechmere.<sup>13</sup> This conversation took place "at his Chamber in the Temple, April 11, 1695". Baron Lechmere "supposed the world to have given him (Bonner) out begotten of Savage because of his savage and butcherly nature; but...he was as certainly begotten as himself or any other that was born...; the baron said...he could make it out beyond exception that Boner was begotten in lawful wedlock".<sup>14</sup> Strype made no reference to this conversation in his later work, the Ecclesiastical Memorials.<sup>15</sup> Relying on a sixteenth-century pedigree of Bonner he declared that the bishop was a "bastard all over".<sup>16</sup>

Whether Bonner was the illegitimate son of one of the Savages or not, his birthplace may be approximately determined. Writing from Hamburg in 1536, Bonner asked to be remembered "to my kinsfolk in Worcestershire".<sup>17</sup> Both the Lechmere tradition and the

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13. Sir Nicholas Lechmere was born in 1613 and died in 1701. See E.P.Shirley, Hanley and the House of Lechmere, 1883, pp.15-16. See also Baron Lechmere's biography in D.N.B.
14. J.Strype, Annals of the Reformation, I (ii), 1824, p.300.
15. The Annals first appeared in 1708-1709, the Memorials in 1721.
16. J.Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II (ii), 1822, p.165, III (i), p.172. Strype used the pedigree which is now among the Petyt MSS. in the Inner Temple: see App. ii, p.458.
17. L.P., X.313.

sixteenth-century pedigrees of the Bishop<sup>18</sup> assert that Bonner was born in Worcestershire. Sir Nicholas Lechmere wrote in his diary that "Bonner was born at Hanley Key (in my house, now in the possession of John Hooper)".<sup>19</sup> The Worcestershire historian, Nash,<sup>20</sup> was not completely convinced that Bonner was born at Hanley: Nash thought he might have been born at Elmley Castle. The sixteenth-century pedigrees assert that Bonner was born at Elmley and was removed to Hanley when he was very young.

Before examining the evidence for Bonner's connection with the Cheshire family of Savages, it is as well to describe who they were. The influence and property of the Savages were greatly augmented by Henry VII's victory at Bosworth. Their connection with the earls of Derby<sup>21</sup> dated from before 1485; but it was "in consideration of his services with a multitude of his brothers,

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18. In the eighteenth century the Lechmere tradition was recorded by the Worcestershire historian, Thomas Habington: T.Habington, A Survey of Worcestershire, ed. J.Amphlett, Worcestershire Historical Society, i, 1895, p.270; Strype, Annals, loc.cit.; See below, App.ii, p.458.
19. Shirley, op.cit., p.14. Judge Lechmere's diary is in the possession of Sir Ronald Lechmere, Bt., Severn End, Hanley Castle, Worcestershire, who kindly allowed me to examine it. However, all the extracts relating to Bonner were printed by Shirley. The house mentioned by Baron Lechmere has sometimes been identified with a small sixteenth-century house in Hanley which today is known as "Bonner's Place."
20. T.R.Nash, Collections for the History of Worcestershire, i, 1781, pp.385, 563.
21. G.F.Armstrong, The Ancient and Noble Family of the Savages of the Ards, 1888, pp.15, 24. See below, App. i, p.457.



kinsmen, servants and friends at great cost in the conflict and battle against the King's great adversary Richard III" that in March 1486 Sir John Savage was granted the lands of Lord Zouche and Viscount Lovell in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire and Shropshire. Sir John had commanded the left wing of Richmond's army at Bosworth and he was rewarded not only with lands and offices, but with the Garter. He may have been one of the inner ring of Henry VII's councillors.<sup>22</sup> At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Savages, a prolific family, provided York with an archbishop, and the northern and midland counties with many of their justices and commissioners of the peace.<sup>23</sup> They were allied by marriage to the Earl of Worcester, Lord Berkeley and the Bulkeleys of Anglesey.<sup>24</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century the head of the Savage family was reputed to be worth fifteen hundred pounds a year.<sup>25</sup>

The Savage family had close connections with those parts of

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22. C.P.R., 1485-1494, pp.101-102; J.Antis, ed., The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, i, 1724, p.233; C.G.Bayne and W.H.Dunham, Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII, Selden Society, lxxv for the year 1956, 1958, pp.xxx-xxxi.
23. Thomas, brother of Sir John Savage K.G., was translated from London to York in 1501: C.P.R., 1494-1509, p.228; Ibid., passim.
24. Armstrong, op.cit., pp.15, 31; L.P., XV. 1028(15); See App. i, p.457
25. See one of the sixteenth-century pedigrees of Bonner where a note concerning Sir John Savage, died 1597, is to this effect: B.M.: Harleian Ms. 1424, f.134. This pedigree has been printed by J.P.Rylands, ed., The Visitation of Cheshire in the year 1580, Harleian Society, xviii, 1882, p.205.

Worcestershire where Bonner probably spent his childhood. In 1488 Sir John Savage K.G. and his father were made joint stewards of the manor of Elmley and keepers of Elmley Castle. The younger Sir John had been granted the bailiwick and stewardship of the manors of Hanley, Upton-on-Severn, Ridmerley and Bushley and the constablenesship of Hanley Castle in September 1485. These offices were granted to his son, another John, in 1493 and they remained in the hands of the senior branch of the family until 1517 or 1522.<sup>26</sup>

The assertion that Edmund Bonner was a bastard of the Savage family is based on five sixteenth-century pedigrees of the bishop.<sup>27</sup> Two of the pedigrees may be dated approximately 1580. One of them

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26. C.P.R., 1485-1494, pp.204, 209; ibid., p.454. The grant of 1493 was "during pleasure", but the offices were confirmed to Sir John in 1495: C.P.R., 1495-1509, p.62. It has been said that these offices were vacated in 1517, but a note appended to the patent of 1495 states that these offices were vacated on 20 July 13 Henry VIII: V.C.H., Worcester, iv, p.96, C.P.R., loc.cit. Elmley and Upton-on-Severn passed into the hands of a younger branch of the family when Christopher Savage, the nephew of Sir John Savage, K.G., received the manor of Elmley in 1544 and the use of the manor of Upton from 1546: L.P., XIX (ii). 527(41), L.P., XIV(i).191(20). See also W.P.W. Phillimore, ed., The Visitation of the County of Worcester made in the year 1569..., Harleian Society, xxvii, 1888, p.124.

27. B.M.: Harleian Ms., loc.cit.; B.M.: Cotton Ms. Tiberius E. viii, f.213b; Bodleian: Ashmole Ms.836, ff.749-750; Inner Temple: Petyt Ms. 538/47, f. 4; P.R.O.: S.P. 12/8, f.41. The pedigree in the Bodleian is mutilated but it was probably complete when it was used by Nash who said he printed the pedigree of Bonner "from Ant. Wood's ms. in the Ashmolean Museum (marked f.33)". See Nash, op.cit., p.385. Professor Smith referred to three of these pedigrees: Smith, loc.cit. For a summary comparison of these pedigrees see App. ii, p.458.

was probably begun at the time of the Herald's Visitation of Cheshire in 1580 and the second is an almost exact copy of it.<sup>28</sup> A third pedigree, which is now to be found in a volume which contains some of Bonner's letters, was written sometime before 1597.<sup>29</sup> The fourth pedigree, which is now in the Public Record Office, may be the earliest of the five. It was probably written before Bonner's death in 1569 for in it he is described as "twise bisshop of/ london, & the thirde/ tyme looketh to be yff/ he may come owt/ at libertie".<sup>30</sup> Although it is not possible to date the fifth pedigree, now in the Bodleian,<sup>31</sup> it seems that all the pedigrees were drawn up either when Bonner was an old man or after his death.

If there were no other evidence to support the story of Bonner's illegitimate birth the pedigrees might perhaps be dismissed as the invention of his opponents and detractors. The pedigrees are however accurate in many of their details. The

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29. This pedigree describes "Sir John Savage/ of Chessire livinge/ at this present", as the son of Sir John Savage "who slew a gentleman called Mr./ Panset". Sir John Savage murdered John Pauncefoot in 1516, was pardoned in 1520 and given complete freedom of movement in 1524, four years before he died leaving as his heir a son three years old. This child became Sir John Savage of Rocksavage and died in 1597. He must have been the Sir John Savage alive when the pedigree was drawn up: Inner Temple, Petyt Ms., loc.cit.; L.P., II (i). 2684, L.P., III(i). 1081 (27ii). See also G.Ormerod, The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester, ed., T.Helsby, i, 1882, p.715.

30. P.R.O.: S.P. 12/8, f.41.

31. Bodleian: Ashmole Ms., loc.cit.

compilers of the pedigrees knew something of the history of the Savage family. The Heralds of the 1580 Visitation recorded that the lands in Worcestershire granted to Sir John Savage K.G. had been part of the honour of the Earl of Warwick, as indeed they were.<sup>32</sup>

The Heralds also referred to one Serle "cosin to Bonner".

It is not possible to say whether Thomas Serle was related to Bonner, but he acted for Bonner when the latter was abroad in 1536. When Bonner was in France in 1539 Serle wrote to him frequently, perhaps keeping him informed of his business affairs. When Bonner became Bishop of London he leased lands and the park at Harringay to Serle and later granted him the reversion of the manor of Fonehope. He also granted him the advowsons of the prebend of Hoxton and the rectory of Wiley.<sup>33</sup>

The Heralds knew that Bonner had exchanged land in Essex for the manors of Ridmerley and Bushley.<sup>34</sup> At the time of the Visitation of 1580 Serle was believed to be the tenant of Bushley. In fact this seems to have been an error for no indenture has survived of a grant of Bushley by Bonner to Serle. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the dispute over the tenancy of Bushley

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32. B.M.: Harleian Ms. loc.cit., Rylands, loc.cit.; V.C.H., loc.cit.

33. L.P., X.313; L.P., XIV (ii). 318, 763. See below App.x (iv) p. 484 and below Chap.11 p.356 note 12. Serle was in Cromwell's service at one time: L.P., XIII (ii). 638.

34. See below, Chap.10. pp.301-302.

was between Bonner's servant, Richard Lechmere, and Ridley's secretary, George Carr. On the other hand the heralds rightly assigned the tenancy of the manor of Ridmerley to George Shipside.<sup>35</sup>

It is impossible to substantiate the unanimous assertion of the pedigrees that Bonner was the son of one Savage, parson of Davenham in Cheshire. This Savage is very elusive. He is called both George and John and is said to have been the illegitimate son of Sir John Savage K.G.<sup>36</sup> Although there is a record in the Register of John Hales, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield of a dispensation for the ordination of a George Savage "sup(er) defectu(m) nataliu(m)" about 1486, the Chester antiquarian, Ormerod, could find no record of the institution of George Savage at Davenham at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Bonner himself was rector of Davenham from some time before 1533 until 1539 and it is possible that if the pedigrees were compiled by propagandists hostile to Bonner his tenure of the benefice suggested that his

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35. See below App. ix pp<sup>476</sup>-482; Rylands, loc.cit.; See below, Chap.10, pp.322,318.

36. B.M.: Harleian Ms., loc.cit., B.M.: Cotton Ms., loc.cit.; Inner Temple, Petyt Ms., loc.cit., Nash, loc.cit.

37. Ormerod, op.cit., iii, p.243, quoting Lichfield Diocesan Register XII, ff.159-160; L.P., VI. 179. A Roger Sayage was rector of Davenham in 1511 and a John Savage succeeded Bonner there in 1539: Ormerod, loc.cit., L.P., XVI. 220(44).

"father" might also have held it.<sup>38</sup>

But the failure to find a record of a George Savage at Davenham between 1480 and 1511 by no means precludes the possibility that he was there, for the lists of institutions may not be complete. It is known that a "George Savage, clerk" was in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield in 1488. He was custodian of a hospital in Derbyshire and he may also have been rector of Davenham.<sup>39</sup>

It is possible that the pedigrees were correct in saying that Bonner was the illegitimate son of a "Savage, clerk", but wrong in assuming that his father was the rector of a Cheshire parish. Bonner's father may have lived in Worcestershire. Indeed in 1518 a John Savage was vicar of Hanley.<sup>40</sup> A George Savage was parson of Ridmerley from 1491 until 1535. This priest had not moved from Cheshire to Worcestershire but had held a benefice

38. The exact date of Bonner's institution to Davenham is unknown. When Sir Richard Bulkely wrote to Cromwell on 22 February 1533, Bonner was rector there: P.R.O.: S.P. 1/74, f.200. (L.P., VI. 179. The Calendar is misleading for it suggests a closer connection between Bonner and the Savages than Bulkeley intended); L.P., XVI. 220(44). It is possible that Bonner did not receive the rectory from the Savages but from the Crown, for the property of the senior branch of the family was in wardship from 1528 until 1547: See C.P.R., 1547-1548, p.1

39. Armstrong, op.cit., p.27, note 1.

40. Lechmere, Box 25(1). Although a Thomas Robinson, chaplain, paid the subsidy for Hanley, John Savage may have been vicar there. The subsidy lists for the clergy show that John Laurence was incumbent of Ridmerley in 1513 but other evidence suggests that a George Savagewas there from 1491 to 1535: Worcestershire County Record Office: Register de Giglis, ff. 96, 100v., see below note 41.

in the diocese of Exeter before 1491.<sup>41</sup> At some date between 1533 and 1538 the parsonage of Upton-on-Severn was held by a George Savage.<sup>42</sup> It is possible that all three benefices were held by the same man. If, on the other hand, there were three Savages holding benefices in this south-western corner of Worcestershire between 1518 and 1538, it is likely that they were related to each other. The pedigrees assert that Bonner had an illegitimate half-brother called George Savage and he and his father may have shared these benefices.<sup>43</sup>

The pedigrees assert that Bonner had three half-brothers on the Savage side. One of these is called either George Wymslowe or George Savage. There is one interesting piece of evidence which shows that the name Wymmesley was sometimes connected with the name Bonner. In 1559 a "magister Edmundus Bonner alias Wimsleye" held the prebend of Reculverland. The exact nature of his relationship to the bishop is unknown, but, as the recipient of Bonner's patronage while still a boy, it would be

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41. C.P.R., 1485-1494, p.342; Worcestershire County Record Office, Episcopal Register XXVII, f.37a. This Register contains miscellaneous documents relating to the years 1516, 1523, 1527-1536 and 1542. It was restored, indexed and, presumably, bound in 1825.

42. P.R.O.: C. I/839/32-34.

43. A George Savage who died in 1552 was buried in the Savage family chapel in the parish church of Macclesfield. He has been identified with Bonner's father: Ormerod, op.cit., iii, p.755, note a. See also J.P.Earwaker, East Cheshire: Past and Present, ii, 1880, p.499.

unlikely if none existed.<sup>44</sup>

The George Wymmisley who proceeded to the degree of bachelor of civil law at Oxford in 1526 may have been one of Bonner's brothers. A George Savage, bachelor of both laws was ordained subdeacon by the suffragan to the Bishop of Hereford on 21 December 1527. When George Savage resigned the parsonage of Ridmerley in 1535 George Wymmesley was instituted there.<sup>45</sup> The George Savage alias Wylmysley, who was chancellor of Chester in the reign of Henry VIII and died in 1561/2, has been identified with Bonner's putative brother. It is possible that the incumbent of Ridmerley is to be identified not only with the chancellor of Chester but also with the vicar of Tollyshunt-Major in the diocese of London. On 2 February 1552 a George Savage was instituted to this vicarage on the patronage of Thomas Darbyshire, Bonner's nephew.<sup>46</sup>

Nothing is known of Randall Savage whom the pedigrees also declare to have been Bonner's brother. He is said to have lived at Lodge in Cheshire. A similar silence shrouds the lives of the three illegitimate daughters whom the pedigrees assign to

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44. W.H.Frere, ed., Registrum Matthei Parker, Diocesis Cantuariensis, 1559-1575, 1928, p.46. Edmund Wimsley was a student at Christ Church in 1561, taking his B.A. only in October 1562 and his M.A. on 13 Feb. 1565/6: Foster, op.cit., p.1658.
45. P.R.O.: S.P. 12/8, f.41; Inner Temple, Petyt Ms. loc.cit.; B.M.: Harleian.Ms. loc.cit.; Foster, op.cit. p.1658; Bannister, op.cit., p.325, Worcestershire County Record Office, Register No. XXVII, f.37a.
46. Ormerod, op.cit., ii, p.720, note c.; New., ii, p.604, See below, pp39-40.



Bonner's father. Named Elizabeth, Ellen or Helen, and Margaret they were reputed to have married gentlemen by the names of Clayton, Goldenstoak and Hays. The pedigrees do not agree which sister married which man, but they give only the three names, or variations thereof.<sup>47</sup>

The third brother whom the pedigrees assigned to Bonner was John Wymmisley. John Bale also declared that Wymmisley was Bonner's half-brother.<sup>48</sup> Educated at Broadgates' Hall he took the degree of bachelor of civil law on 13 October 1533. Shortly after Bonner became Bishop of London he made Wymmisley prebendary of Sneating and in 1543 promoted him to the archdeaconry of London. In 1554 Wymmisley exchanged this archdeaconry for the archdeaconry of Middlesex, and in the same year received the rectory of Uppingham in Rutland from Bonner. The pedigrees were right to assign the rectory of Tarperley in Cheshire to Wymmisley for he held that benefice from 1533. In 1548 John Wymmisley was the incumbent of Ridmerley, but the date when he replaced George

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47. See below, App. ii, p.458. None of the sisters mentioned in the pedigrees are noted as having married Loe, a vintner of Cheapside. In 1578 a man of this name and occupation was described as Bonner's brother-in-law in a list of recusants: Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda, 1566-1579, ed. M.A.E.Green, 1871, p.557.

48. Bale, op.cit., f.17v.

Wymmisley there is unknown. Thus there is no proof that John Wymmisley was Bonner's brother, but there was a close connection between them.<sup>49</sup>

Three of the pedigrees relate that "the said george Savage priest begot the said/ Edmunde late bishop of London of ye body of one/ Elizabeth ffrodsham, who being w'th child was sent/ owt of Cheshire into Wurcestershire to one Thom<sup>a</sup>s/ Savage of Elmley and there delivered...".<sup>50</sup> Very little is known of Bonner's mother. Writing to Serle in 1536 Bonner begged him "let not my mother lak...". She may indeed have known poverty for in 1532 and 1533 she received charity from the Prior of Worcester during Bonner's "absens towards Rome." When Bonner was in prison Ridley is supposed to have provided and cared for her. She may have died before Bonner's restoration in 1553, for some of the pedigrees record that when she died, Bonner, a prisoner in the Marshalsea, "notwithstanding gave for her morning coates at her death".<sup>51</sup> Thomas Savage, brother of Sir John Savage K.G. could not have been his nephew's bailiff between 1495 and 1500 for he was Bishop of Rochester until he was translated to London in 1496.

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49. Foster, loc.cit., New., i, pp.211, 63, 81, Reg.Bon., f218.

50. P.R.O.: S.P. 12/8, f.41. See also Bodleian, Ashmole Ms., loc.cit., and Inner Temple, Petyt Ms. loc.cit. The pedigree of the 1580 Visitation does not give the name of Savage in Elmley to whom Bonner's mother was sent: B.M.: Harl. Ms., loc.cit., Rylands, loc.cit.

51. L.P., X.313; E.S.Fegan, ed., Journal of Prior William More, Worcester'shire Historical Society, 1914, pp.343, 371. Foxe, op.cit., vii, p.408; B.M.: Harleian Ms., loc.cit., Rylands, loc.cit.

A distant cousin of the senior branch of the Savage family or an illegitimate son called Thomas may have been at Elmley at that time, but no Thomas except the Bishop appears on the pedigrees of the Savage family who would have been old enough to have held the manor of Elmley for John Savage at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>52</sup>

It is possible that a Savage with a different Christian name was tenant or steward at Elmley about 1500. In 1520 Anthony Savage, closely related to the senior branch of the family, was described as "of Elmley alias of Hanley". He may not have been there twenty years before but his father or a brother may have been.<sup>53</sup>

There is some evidence completely independent of the pedigrees which shows that there was a connection between Bonner and certain members of the Savage family. One fact only hints at a link between Bonner and the Savages. A great-greatniece of Sir John Savage, K.G., married Sir Richard Bulkeley of Beaumaris. Her son is said to have been educated in Bonner's household in London in the reign of Mary. At some time during his life Bonner may have

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52. C.P.R., 1494-1509, p.77, see App. i, p.457.

53. Anthony Savage was involved in the murder of John Pouncefoot by Sir John Savage in 1516. Mary late Queen of France interceded with Wolsey for Anthony's pardon for his sister Susan was in her service: L.P., III(i).854(6), see also L.P., III(i).1324(6); L.P. III(i).455, 602.

formed a friendship with the Bulkeleys independently of the Savages. On the other hand family feeling may have prompted him to take his cousin's grandson into his household. Another hint of a connection between Bonner and the Savages is given by the fact that Bonner was one of the witnesses to the dissolution of the marriage of Sir John Savage before his profession as a monk at Westminster in 1528. Bonner may have been present simply as a legal adviser to Wolsey's commissary William Benett but it is possible that Sir John asked his kinsman to be one of his witnesses.<sup>54</sup>

There is more convincing evidence for a connection between Bonner and the Savages. On 28 September 1538 a grant was made to William Woodward, rector of Dodeswell in the diocese of Worcester, and to John Savage, parson of Quatt in Shropshire, to hold benefices to the value of sixty pounds a year and to be non-resident. This latter privilege was granted "in consideration of their having been benefactors of the king's chaplain Edm. Boner, and being now old and infirm". John Savage of Quatt may perhaps have been vicar of Hanley twenty years before; at any rate he

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54. See below App. i, p.457. ; Ormerod, op.cit., i, pp.714-715; E.C.Jones, ed., "History of the Bulkeley Family", Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions, 1948, p.20; Westminster Abbey Muniments 9279, See below, App, iii, p.459.

probably had friends both in Elmley and in Hanley.<sup>55</sup>

The parson of Quatt may also have been Bonner's successor in the rectory of Davenham. In a suit in Chancery one William Hutton declared that he had persuaded Sir Anthony Browne to ask Henry VIII to give Davenham, in the king's hands on Bonner's promotion to the bishopric of Hereford, to John Savage. Savage replied that when Bonner resigned the benefice "the said now Bishop wrott his letters to Sir Anthony Browne" to ask him to persuade the king to give Savage the benefice. All that Hutton had done, Savage declared, was to deliver Bonner's letter to Sir Anthony.<sup>56</sup>

At some date between 1533 and 1538 Bonner was acting for Christopher Savage in the latter's dispute with the parson of Upton-on-Severn, William Leson. Leson claimed that the agreement of his predecessor, George Savage, with Christopher Savage for the farm of the parsonage was void. In his answer to Leson's bill of complaint in Chancery, Christopher Savage said that George Savage "wyllled" him to go to law with Leson, "whereupon the said Xpofer made law (sic) unto one docto<sup>r</sup> Boner for to speke

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55. L.P., XIII(11), 491(20). At the end of a bill presented to Wolsey in Chancery, in which John Savage argued that the former farmer of the benefice of Quatt had despoiled the parsonage, a note was made of the names of two witnesses: Tucherus Brykhed, gentleman of Elmley, and Ludowic ffyshpole, yeoman of Hanley: P.R.O.: C.1/575/45. Bonner and William Woodward were joint executors of the will of Isabel Chauncellor at some date between 1533 and 1538: P.R.O.: C.1/742/55, see below, chap.11, p.377, and chap 3, p.72.

56. L.P., XVI.220(44), P.R.O.: C.1/1007/24.

to the seid lesen thatt the seid Xpofer might occupie and enjoie the seid p(ar)sonage". Dr. Bonner acted for Christopher Savage, and Leson was said to have granted the parsonage of Upton to Bonner "or his frynde".<sup>57</sup>

Bonner may have looked after the interests of Christopher Savage, John Savage of Quatt and his namesake at Davenham, if in his youth he had gained their friendship and had been helped by them. It is possible that he had been given their assistance because he was a relative.

It is now necessary to examine Baron Lechmere's assertion that Edmund Bonner was the legitimate son of an "honest, poor man, one Bonner",<sup>58</sup> and therefore only the friend or protégé of the Savages. The pedigrees explain Bonner's surname by recording of the bishop's mother than when she was delivered of her son at Elmley, she "was married/ to one Boner a carpenter dwelling at Potters/ Hanley". "And so for the uncertentye of his ryght name/ he was called bonner after his stepfather of/ little fame".<sup>59</sup> Father or stepfather, the elder Bonner can hardly have been a man of great importance in Hanley. Frewens, Dineleys, Knottisfords and other local people appear as witnesses or participants in the

57. P.R.O.: C.1/839/33.

58. Strype, Annals, loc.cit.. See also Shirley, op.cit., p.14, where the extract of Baron Lechmere's diary, in which Bonner is described as "of meane parentage", is printed.

59. P.R.O.: S.P.12/8, f.41; Bodleian, Ashmole Ms., loc.cit. When Prior William More gave "rewards" of 3s 4d. to Bonner's father in 1534 he did not mention in his Journal whether this was to a Bonner or to a Savage: Fegan, ed., op.cit., p.381.

early sixteenth-century deeds in the Lechmere manuscript collection, but Bonner only once.<sup>60</sup>

The reference to the elder Bonner is in one of the two documents in the Lechmere collection which appear at first sight to support the thesis that Bonner was legitimate. In a deed of 10 January 1519 "ego Edmundus Boner filius Will(el)mi boner" made a gift of an acre of land in a field called "lechmerffeld" to Thomas Lechmere, senior.<sup>61</sup> The phrase "filius Will(el)mi boner" is a descriptive term and not a strict definition of common law status. It is possible that Bonner was thus described because he was regarded by his neighbours in Hanley as William's son, even if in fact his father was a Savage and his mother had married William after his birth. If Bonner were illegitimate in common law he could not have inherited the acre of land which had once belonged to William. It is possible however that the land came into Edmund's hands by deed and not by inheritance. In the deed of 1519 Edmund was not described as William's heir, He may have

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60. In 1523 a Nicholas Bonour and Roger Frewen confirmed to Thomas Lechmere and nine others a tenement and close in Hanley: V.C.H., Worcester, iv, p.516. It is possible that Nicholas Bonour was related to Nicholas Boner, deacon and curate of Wootton Waven in 1513. In the same year a Hugh Bonar, chaplain, was at Salpton, and Elizeus Boner was vicar of Tekden. There is no evidence to suggest a connection between any of these men and Edmund Bonner: Worcestershire County Record Office, Register de Giglis, ff. 97, 100.

61. Lechmere, Box 77, Bundle 1507-1519. This document was noted by Nash, op.cit., p.563.

come into possession of the land by virtue of an earlier deed, made to circumvent the common law ruling that a bastard could not inherit.

In canon law subsequent marriage often legitimated the child of an unsolemnized union.<sup>62</sup> If however his mother did not marry Edmund's father but another man, Bonner's position in canon law was obscure.

It should be noted that if Bonner's mother had married William before he was born, Edmund might have been regarded as William's son in both common and canon law whatever his true paternity. Although four<sup>63</sup> of the pedigrees agree that she was married after Bonner's birth, one leaves the date of her marriage in doubt.<sup>64</sup>

The second<sup>65</sup> document which may support the theory of Bonner's legitimacy was a grant made by his nephew in 1573. Thomas Parsons alias ffayrbrother, described as the son of Bonner's sister and

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62. I am grateful to Dr. Eric Ives, Mr. Michael Langley-Hardy and Mr. Peter Cottis for their patience in discussing with me the common law and canon law position of a bastard in the sixteenth century. See above, p.14, Hooper, loc.cit., and F.Makower, The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England, 1895, p.421.

63. B.M.: Harl. Ms., loc.cit., Cotton Ms. loc.cit.; Bodleian, Ashmole Ms., loc.cit. (see also Nash, op.cit., p.385); P.R.O.: S.P. 12/8, f.41.

64. Inner Temple, Petyt Ms., loc.cit.

65. Lechmere, Box 59 (iii). There are two copies of this deed, one in Latin and one in English, in Lechmere, Box 78.



sole heir Margaret Mountjoy, granted a "ten(emen)tu(m) sive edificui cu(m) gardiño vocat Boners Place" in Severn End in the lordship of Hanley, Worcestershire to Margaret Lechmere, the widow of Bonner's friend Richard Lechmere. This cottage may have been the same one which Baron Lechmere called Bonner's Place and where he said he was born.

Since the three putative daughters of George Savage were all illegitimate, in common law none of them should have inherited property from Bonner. If Bonner were the legitimate son of William Bonner, his sister and sole heir would have been William Bonner's daughter. But it is possible that Bonner had made George Savage's daughter, Margaret, his heir by granting her his property by deed before he died.

It has been seen that much of the evidence supports the story of the pedigrees. Nevertheless, however great the probability of a relationship between Bonner and the Savages there is no proof that Bonner was more than a friend of the Savage family. On the other hand the Lechmere tradition that Bonner was legitimate is supported only by two deeds whose purpose was not to elucidate Bonner's paternity but to convey land. The conclusions to be drawn from these deeds are very uncertain. Although it is quite possible that new facts will emerge which will prove conclusively that Bonner was legitimate, from the existing evidence and testimony it seems more probable that Edmund Bonner was an illegitimate son of the Savage family and that his mother married William Bonner

possibly before he was born.

Although the exact nature of their relationship remains obscure, it can be shown that Bonner maintained friendly relations with his sister, his nephews and perhaps also his cousins for many years. In 1536 Bonner had written "let not my mother lak/ nor my sisters childr(en), soo that they applie their boke." It is not possible to know whether this sister was a relative of the Bonners or of the Savages. It is possible that she was Margaret Mountjoy. When he became Bishop of London Bonner leased to his sister Margaret and her husband Philip the manors of Copford and Storteford. Philip was also bailiff of Storteford, in which office his widow succeeded him. With Bonner's mother, Margaret Mountjoy was entertained by Ridley when Bonner was in prison.<sup>66</sup>

Thomas Parsons alias ffayrbrother was described in the deed of 1573 as Margaret Mountjoy's son. In his Declaration, Bale declared that Parsons was Bonner's son, not his nephew. Although it is not possible to know whether there was any truth in this allegation, Parsons benefitted greatly from his connection with Bonner. As well as sharing the lease of the manor of Storteford

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66. B.M.: Cotton, Vitellius B.xxi, f.148. (L.P., X.313); Lechmere Box 59(iii); See App. x (v) p.485; Foxe, op.cit., vii, p.408. Foxe described Bonner's sister as "Mrs.Mungey". Mungey was an alternative form of Mountjoy: see the reversion of the manor of Fering granted by Bonner to William Mountjoy alias Mungey, Tristram Swaddle and Edmund Lechmere, cited in deed of 30 May 1584: Lechmere, Box 7 (ii)/2.

with Philip and Margaret Mountjoy and William Mountjoy, Parsons also received a third part of the farm of the parsonage of Broxbourne from Bonner. Other leases included the toll at Highgate and the manor place of Stepney. More important however were the offices in the diocesan administrative machine which Bonner gave to Parsons. As well as being collector of the rents of St. Paul's, Parsons was custodian of the palaces of Fulham and Hadham and of the palace by St. Paul's. He was bailiff of the liberties of Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex, but probably his most lucrative position was his office as deputy to the Receiver-General of the diocese.<sup>67</sup>

Bonner made a number of leases to William Mountjoy, who in his will described Thomas Parsons as his brother. If Parsons was Bonner's nephew then it is likely that Mountjoy was also. Bonner seems to have been largely responsible for establishing William Mountjoy's fortunes. Between 1541 and 1546 Bonner leased to him tenements in Pater Noster Row, and a share in the manors of Copford, Stortford, Hornsey and Wormeholte. In the second half of his episcopate Bonner continued his grants to Mountjoy, for William received the reversions of the manors of Fering and Kelvedon and a lease of the park of Ridmerley in 1556 and 1558. On his death

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67. Lechmere, Box 59 (iii); Bale, op.cit., f.81. This allegation was repeated by Strype, Memorials, op.cit., III(i). p.173. See App. x (vii), pp.486-487.

in 1585 William was reputed to have goods and chattels worth more than £7000.<sup>68</sup>

Bonner had at least two other nephews. Priests, they received ecclesiastical preferment from him rather than leases. Thomas Darbyshire, vicar-general and chancellor to the Bishop during Mary's reign, was, like Parsons, accused of being Bonner's son. It is impossible to prove this allegation, but there seems little doubt that if not his son, he was the bishop's nephew.<sup>69</sup>

In June 1544 Bonner wrote to the king saying that he had intended the prebend of Kentish Town for a nephew "being at Oxforde at my charge & of great towardness in learning & virtue as I am credibly informed". Bonner may have intended Kentish Town for Thomas or for his brother William Darbyshire. They were both students at Bonner's old college Broadgates Hall. Bonner had already given Thomas the prebend of Tottenhall in July 1543 and William the prebend of Mora in April 1544. William died in

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68. See below, App. x (vi) pp.485-486 and also A.D.Harrison "The Mountjoy Gift to Copford", Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, N.S., xxiv for 1944-1949, 1951, pp. 56-68, esp. pp. 56-59.
69. Bale, loc.cit., Strype, loc.cit. Father Robert Persons, S.J., admitted that Darbyshire was Bonner's nephew, and in a list of recusants compiled in 1561 he was described as Bonner's kinsman: J.H.Pollen, ed., "The memoirs of Father Robert Persons", Catholic Record Society, ii, 1906, p.61; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda, 1547-1565, ed. M.A.E.Green, 1870, p.524.

1551,<sup>70</sup> but Thomas became a distinguished academic and also received many important preferments from his uncle between 1553 and 1559.<sup>71</sup> In March 1556 he became vicar-general of the diocese of London, and in 1558 rector of Fulham and St. Magnus the Martyr and archdeacon of Essex. Deprived of his benefices in 1559 and 1560 he travelled abroad, becoming a Jesuit in 1563. At the end of a long and learned life he died at Louvain in 1604.<sup>72</sup>

Of Bonner's more distant relatives such as George Brigges very little is known. Brigges, a merchant taylor, delivered letters for the bishop and arranged that money should be delivered to him when he was in France. By his will proved 7 October 1546 Brigges left £20 each to Thomas and William Darbyshire and also to Joan Darbyshire. He gave no indication whether the Darbyshires were his relatives nor did he say whether Joan was the mother or sister of William and Thomas. When his widow died in 1556 she bequeathed "my ringe of golde with/ a great Turkes" to Bonner for a

70. St.P., i, p.762 (L.P., XIX (i). 736). There is no certain evidence that William Darbyshire was the brother of Thomas, but it seems most probable. William was prebendary of Mora from his institution on 26 April 1544, when he was described as a student at Oxford, until his death before 24 August 1551: Reg. Bon., f.147 (Newcourt was wrong to give the date of William's institution as 24 August: New., i, p.180); New., i, p.180. See also A. à Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, ed. P.Bliss, i, 1813, col. 372-373.
71. Thomas Darbyshire became prebendary of Tottenhall in July 1543. Reg. Bon., f.144v. (New., i, p.215). He became principal of Broadgates Hall in 1556: Foster, op.cit., p.372, D.Maclean, A History of Pembroke College Oxford anciently Broadgates Hall, Oxford Historical Society, xxxiii, 1897, p.86.
72. Reg. Bon., ff. 406v.-407; Reg., Bon., f.476v. (New., i, p.608); Reg. Bon., f.477v. (New., i, p.398); Reg. Bon. f.477 (New., i, pp.72-3., See biography of Darbyshire in D.N.B.

remembrance.<sup>73</sup>

Some of Bonner's relatives may have moved to Gloucestershire.<sup>74</sup> At first sight the Thomas Bonner who appeared in Campden about 1540 seems to have little connection with the Bishop of London, but the Bonners of Campden had business dealings with a branch of the Savage family. On 16 October 1544 Christopher Savage, a nephew of Sir John Savage K.G., received a licence to alienate lands in Campden to Thomas Bonner, junior. Although in their wills the Campden Bonners made no reference to their august kinsman, it is possible that the bishop acted as an intermediary between Thomas and Christopher Savage in 1544. In a case in Chancery about this time Thomas claimed that he had given into the safekeeping and for the use of Robert Chydley the recognisance in which Christopher admitted that he owed Thomas £1000. Chydley held office in the diocese of London as the official of the arch-deacon of London.<sup>75</sup>

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73. St.P., viii, p.107 (L.P. XIII (i). 993); C.M.Clode, The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors, i, 1888, p.362; P.R.O.: S.P. 1/146, f.277 (L.P., XVI (i). 709) where Bonner referred to Briggs as a "kynnesman of myne"; P.C.C.: 21 Allen; P.C.C.: 26 Ketchyn.
74. The historian of Chipping Campden thought that the Bonners of Campden were related to the bishop: P.C.Rushen, The History and Antiquities of Chipping Campden in the County of Gloucester, 1911, p.57.
75. L.P., XIX (ii). 527 (48); Rushen, loc.cit.; P.R.O.: C.1/1103/71. Robert Chydley, as official of the archdeacon of London, was one of the commissioners to enquire into the <sup>execution of the</sup> Act of 6 Articles in 1541: Reg. Bon. f.17v., see also Foxe, op.cit., v, App.IX, and also App. p.830. The connection between the Campden Bonners and the Savage family continued until 1580 when a George Savage was one of the executors of the will of Anthony Bonner: P.C.C. 43 Arundell.

If the traditions of Bonner's illegitimacy are true, then it is possible that the bishop suffered even more slights and injuries than would naturally have been the lot of a poor boy making his way in the world. Nevertheless, however affected by the circumstances of his youth, Bonner does not seem to have translated his early struggles into a hatred of his family and relatives. To his nephews he was generous, and to more distant kinsmen not only an employer but a helpful friend.

## Chapter 2.

### Bonner's Education and Early Career.

In the years up to 1530 Bonner was preparing himself for his later career, and served his apprenticeship as Wolsey's commissary and legal adviser. Through the obscurity which shrouds these formative years the progress of this clever young lawyer can occasionally be glimpsed.

Bonner may have received his first formal education either at Hanley or at Worcester. Judge Lechmere claimed that his ancestors had been responsible for Edmund Bonner's education.<sup>1</sup> If this was so, they may have sent the boy to the grammar school at Hanley which was probably already established in 1486.<sup>2</sup> However, it is possible that the judge misinterpreted the relationship between his forebears and the bishop.

The Lechmeres were of only moderate importance in Hanley before they benefitted from Bonner's friendship. Although Thomas Lechmere held a certain amount of land in Hanley in 1523 and married an heiress, the Lechmeres cannot have been wealthy before 1540.<sup>3</sup>

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1. E.P. Shirley, Hanley and the House of Lechmere, 1883, p.11.

2. It has been argued that by 1486 the property of the school at Hanley was being administered by three trustees. There were nine trustees for the school lands in 1523: V.C.H., Worcester, iv, p.516.

3. Thomas Lechmere was one of the trustees for the school in 1523: ibid., see below, App. iv, p.460.



When Roger Lechmere sued his stepfather, Thomas Baystone, in Chancery for a legacy from his father of five marks and wages of five marks he described his father, Thomas, "as a man of good substance...to an honeste value". Roger's brother Richard said his father "was seased of certeyne lands and ten(emen)ts in his demeane as of fee to the yerely value of vi li xiijs iiijd".<sup>4</sup> This was not the estate of a man easily able to educate clever boys of the village at his own expense.

It was not as his patron but as his servant that Bonner described Richard Lechmere in March 1539. Richard performed many services for Bonner, and indeed in the bishop's absence was one of the three proxies who took fealty to the king for the bishopric of London. When he was a prisoner in the Marshalsea Bonner wrote to Richard asking him to send him some puddings, and more pears since an earlier consignment of fruit had been "so well accepted in every place".<sup>5</sup> When he first became Bishop of London Bonner leased to Richard Lechmere and Thomas Serle lands in Harringay, and the park of Harringay. In 1548 he granted the reversion of the manor of Fonehope in Herefordshire to Richard and Roger Lechmere and Thomas Serle, and some time during the second half of his episcopate he leased the park of the manor of Bushley to Richard. As well as being keeper of the woods at Finchley and Harringay Richard Lechmere

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4. P.R.O.: C.1/1022/31-32.

5. See Bonner's endorsement of a letter to him from Honnyng in 1539: L.P., XIV (i). 510; L.P., XIV (ii). 619(44); G.Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, ed. N.Pocock, v, 1865, p.253.

was bailiff of the manor of Bushley. To Richard's son Edmund, with William Mountjoy and Tristram Swaddle, Bonner leased the reversion of the manor of Fering in 1556.<sup>6</sup> Bonner may have made these leases in gratitude to the family which had helped him in his childhood, but it seems more probable that he felt only an appreciation of childhood friends, tried servants whom, he thought, would make good tenants.

Therefore it is unlikely that the Lechmeres contributed greatly to the cost of Bonner's schooling. A member of the Savage family may have seen that he was educated at the school at Hanley but there is a little evidence which suggests that he may have been educated at Worcester.

About 1490 there were eight "boys of the chapel", or "scholars" at the priory at Worcester. In 1498 or 1499 Hugh Cratford "schoolmaster" was active in Worcester, and in 1501 the prior and convent granted him the office of schoolmaster for life for a fee of £4 a year. Although Cratford became master of the City school in 1504, he continued to receive £1 a year from the cellarer of the priory as "schoolmaster of the convent", and it is probable that the boys from the priory were sent to him at the City Grammar School.<sup>7</sup>

In 1525, when he needed money to proceed to his doctorate, Bonner received forty-two shillings from the prior of Worcester William More. More had been kitchenier of the priory in 1504 but

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6. See App. x, pp.483-484.

7. V.C.H., op.cit., pp.480-481.

nevertheless he may have come across the boy at the priory or the city school either then or after he became sub-prior in 1507. More became prior in 1518, and in 1521 and 1523 he noted in his journal that he had given "rewards" to "our ij scholars at Oxforde". Although monks from the priory temporarily absent in order to study at Oxford may have benefitted from More's charity, it is possible that on both occasions Bonner was one of the recipients. More continued to make small payments to Bonner and to his family after 1525. When Bonner was in Rome in 1533 More used his rooms when he was in London.<sup>8</sup>

Bonner's connection with the prior of Worcester when he was in his twenties and early thirties, is no proof that in his childhood he had been educated at the grammar school at Worcester. But the existence of this connection and the evidence that there was a schoolmaster active in Worcester at the turn of the century are grounds for the hypothesis that he was educated there.

It is possible that during his childhood or early youth Bonner made the acquaintance of two other eminent Worcestershire churchmen. John Bell, archdeacon of Gloucester, had been born in Worcestershire and, preceeding bachelor of laws at Cambridge in 1504, became vicar-general and chancellor of Worcester in 1518, the see to which he was

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8. E.S.Fegan, ed., Journal of Prior William More, Worcestershire Historical Society, 1914; biography of More in D.N.B.; Fegan, op.cit., pp.124, 253, 343, 320, 371, 381; P.R.O.: S.P.1/77, f.145 (L.P., VI.748).

raised in 1539. One of Wolsey's commissaries in 1526, Bell worked for the king's divorce between 1527 and 1533.<sup>9</sup> When Bonner was in Rome Bell commissioned him to "further the matter" of the Charterhouse at Sheen, and inquired what had happened to the dispensations for two of the sons of the king's vice-chamberlain, Sir John Gage.<sup>10</sup> The monks at the Charterhouse may have been seeking papal confirmation of the exchange of lands which had taken place between them and the king at the end of 1531.<sup>11</sup> Sir John Gage was connected with the Charterhouse; he was staying there when he wrote to his son James in December 1531, and at one time it was thought he would renounce his wife and retire there.<sup>12</sup>

Another of Bonner's Worcestershire friends was Dr. Thomas Bagarde. Like Bonner Bagarde, as a student, had been assisted by the prior of Worcester. After proceeding to his doctorate of civil law in 1528, Bagarde became chancellor of the diocese of Worcester in 1532 when Bonner procured Cromwell's favour for him. At one time parson of Ripple in Worcestershire, Bagarde was later vicar-

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9. Biography of Bell in D.N.B.; Le Neve, iii, pp.63, 78. Bell was Bishop of Worcester from the resignation of Latimer in 1539 until his own resignation in 1543; L.P., IV (i).2073.
10. P.R.O.: S.P.1/70, f.196 (L.P., V. 1198).
11. Exchange of lands, 5 September 1531; L.P., V.403; Grant of lands from the king to the Charterhouse; 23 December 1531; L.P., V.627(22). See also L.P., V.720(2), V.C.H., Surrey, ii, p.92. Since the Charterhouse had been freed from episcopal control, confirmation of an exchange may have been needed from the Pope: E.M.Thompson, The Carthusian Order in England, 1930, p.p.244, 295.
12. L.P., V.588; biography of Gage in D.N.B.

general of the diocese, and would have become archdeacon of Worcester if he had not committed suicide before the appointment became vacant.<sup>13</sup> Bonner revealed his loyalty to his old friends by his assistance and kindness to them. Like More, Bell may have helped Bonner with his early education. Bagarde may have been one of his friends when he was at Oxford.

In 1556 Bonner wrote in the preface to his Catechism, An honest godlye instruction, that "youth, of itselfe is prope(n)se/ and readye withoute anye/ teacher, to take, and embrace vice, unthriftnesse, and all maner noughtinesse..." He may have been thinking of his own youth and childhood when he wrote these lines, and it is possible that he took part in the riot between Broadgates' Hall and the Town Watch at Oxford in 1520. But it is unlikely that he had very much time for wild behaviour after he entered Broadgates' in 1512.<sup>14</sup> Aubrey recorded the story that when Bonner was at Oxford he "was at first a skullion boy in the kitchen, afterwards became a servitor, and so by his industry raysed to what he was". Although Anthony à Wood did not believe this tale, Bonner probably had many struggles before he proceeded bachelor of civil law and bachelor of canon law in July 1519.<sup>15</sup>

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13. L.P., V.1025, 1658, L.P., VI.158; Fegan, op.cit., pp.124, 237, 329; L.P., V.743, L.P., VI.246; P.R.O.: C.1/948/2, C.1/1127/42. See also C.W.Boase, ed., Register of the University of Oxford, 1 (1449-1463; 1505-1571), Oxford Historical Society, 1885, p.94.
14. An honest godlye instruction, and information for the tradynge, and bringing up of Children, set furth by the Bishoppe of London, 1555, f. A.ii; C.E.Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, ii, 1927, p.270.
15. J.Aubrey, "Brief Lives", chiefly of Contemporaries, ed. A.Clark, i, 1898 p.111. See D.Maclean, A History of Pembroke College Oxford anciently Broadgates Hall, Oxford Historical Society, xxxiii, 1897, pp.507-508. In his Athenae Oxoniensis Wood made no reference to Aubrey's story: A à Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis,

Even in his youth Bonner may have hoped for a diplomatic or administrative career as well as for ecclesiastical advancement. The time had not yet come when all the chief officers of state were laymen. Indeed, before his eyes the young Oxford student would have had the splendid example of Wolsey, chief minister, chancellor, legate and cardinal. With such ambitions a training in law was a more useful qualification than a degree in theology. Bonner's attendance at Broadgates', particularly renowned as a school for civil lawyers, marked him as destined for a legal career.

In England in the sixteenth century civil law had not the pre-eminent position it held on the continent, but it was useful in Chancery and in the Court of Requests as well as being the basis of the maritime law administered in the Court of Admiralty. International law was based on civil law and at the beginning of the sixteenth century English ambassadors were often eminent civil lawyers.<sup>16</sup>

Before Bonner could proceed to a higher degree in law, he had first to take the degrees of bachelor and master of arts. Education at Oxford at the beginning of the sixteenth century was based on scholastic disciplines. Although he took only seven years instead of the eleven which would have been required a century

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15 (cont.) ed. P.Bliss, i, 1813, col.368-373; J.Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis...1500-1574, n.d., p.148.

16. Mallet, op.cit., p.269; W.S.Holdsworth, A History of English Law, iv, 1937, p.230, W.Senior, Doctors' Commons and the Old Court of Admiralty, 1922, pp.33, 55.

earlier, it is probable that the work Bonner did at Oxford was similar to that done by a law student in Oxford in 1409 or 1431. With perhaps a fair grounding in Latin from his school, the boy would have been plunged into readings of Donatus, Porphyry, Gilbert de la Porrée and Aristotle. Before he became a bachelor of arts he may have spent a year participating in public disputations. Admitted to the ranks of the bachelors, he may himself have lectured on one of the books of Aristotle, and have taken part in a number of disputations. In 1431 the candidate hoping to become a master of arts was required to have heard, in addition to the books he had already heard before proceeding bachelor of arts, Aristotle's Rhetoric, De Interpretatione, Physics or De Anima, Ethics or Politics and Metaphysics as well as works of Priscian, Boethius, Euclid and Ptolemy. Thus the syllabus was based largely on the works of Aristotle; it is possible that Bonner was able to hear Cicero's Nova Rhetorica, Ovid's Metamorphoses or Virgil's Aeneid instead of Aristotle's Rhetoric.<sup>17</sup> Whether or not Ovid was part of his syllabus at Oxford, at some time during his life Bonner gained some knowledge of that Roman poet.<sup>18</sup>

When he supplicated for the degrees of bachelor of civil law and bachelor of cannon law Bonner was applying for licence to  
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17. H.Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F.M.Powicke and A.B.Emden, iii, 1942, pp.153-156.

18. Bonner quoted Ovid in his letter to Queen Elizabeth of 26 October 1564. This letter was printed by J.Strype, The History of the life...of Edmund Grindal, 1821, App.x, pp.487-490.

lecture on one of the books of Justinian's Institutes and on part of Gratian's Decretum. Whereas English common law developed as case law, the principles of civil law were developed by commentaries of Justinian's Corpus Iuris: the Institutes, the Code and the Digest. The development of canon law followed a similar pattern based on Gratian's great text-book.

Bonner proceeded doctor of civil law in 1525. For this final academic achievement he had probably lectured on the Institutes and on the Digest, and may have given an ordinary lecture for each regent doctor in the faculty, as well as either opposing or responding in disputations in each of their schools.<sup>19</sup>

It is not possible to know to what extent Bonner was able to read and study outside the prescribed legal syllabus. On one or two occasions during his life Bonner revealed his acquaintance with the works of the Fathers. It was natural that an eminent ecclesiastic should be familiar with Chrysostom,<sup>20</sup> Jerome and Augustine,<sup>21</sup> but Bonner gave no indication how deep his reading was. He may have been more interested in Church history: it is said that he possessed a copy of Eusebius edited by the celebrated

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19. Foster, loc.cit., Powicke and Eaden, op.cit., 111, pp.156-157, 1, pp.120-134.

20. B.M. Microfilm 485/52, vol.193, f.36. For a full discussion of this sermon, and the arguments for ascribing it to Bonner see below, Epilogue, p.443.

21. Strype, loc.cit.



Humanist publisher, Rhenanus.<sup>22</sup> It is probable that Bonner's interest in the Fathers and Church history, such as it was, was first aroused while he was a student. On the other hand, although Luther's works were known in Oxford in 1520 and 1531, it is doubtful whether Bonner read or was interested in the works of any of the Continental Reformers at this time.<sup>23</sup>

There is no indication that Bonner studied Greek while at Oxford. It is unlikely that he had either time or money to spare to profit from the new enthusiasm for Greek which by the end of the fifteenth century had begun to permeate certain quarters in Oxford. Bonner's contemporary at Oxford, Reginald Pole, had no need of a degree to further his career,<sup>24</sup> but to Bonner academic success was the prerequisite to the fulfilment of his ambitions.

It was not an inherent inability to learn languages which prevented Bonner from studying Greek: he was an accomplished linguist. Not only was he a fluent Latinist able to deliver a

22. Wood, op.cit., col.372. Wood said that Bonner's edition of Eusebius was published in Basle in 1528. Rhenanus' edition of Eusebius was first published in 1523, and again in 1528 in Basle. Rhenanus was a friend of Erasmus: B.M. catalogue for editions of Eusebius' Church History, J.P.Whitney, "Erasmus", E.H.R., xxxv, 1920, p.12.

23. C.S.Meyer, "Henry VIII burns Luther's Books, 12 May 1521", The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, ix, 1958, pp.176-178, quoting the lists of the Oxford bookseller, Donne. See also Warham's letter to Wolsey of 8 March 1521, in which he complained that a number of Lutheran books, forbidden both by Wolsey as legate and himself as chancellor, were circulating in Oxford: H.Ellis, Original Letters..., 3rd. s., i, pp.238-244.

24. W.Schenk, "The Student Days of Cardinal Pole", History, n.s., xxxiii, 1948, pp.211-217. Although no great school of Greek studies was produced at Oxford before Bishop Fox founded Corpus Christi College, the study of Greek, was encouraged by the presence in Oxford of two of the first and most enthusiastic English scholars in Greek: William Latimer and Thomas Linacre. See A. Tilley, "Greek Studies in England in the Early Sixteenth Century", E.H.R., liii, 1938, pp.221-225, 233.

long Latin oration to the Senate of Hamburg but he spoke both French and Italian well. It is perhaps not surprising that a young man hoping for a diplomatic career would equip himself with fluent written and spoken French. He took an interest in French books and, when he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, read a French chronicle for relaxation.<sup>25</sup> His knowledge of Italian was perhaps less usual at that time.<sup>26</sup> In April 1530 Bonner wrote to Cromwell asking that, as Cromwell hoped to make him "a good Italian", would he lend him the Triumphs of Petrarch and Castiglione's Courtier in Italian. When he was ambassador to the Pope in 1533 Bonner was able to understand Clement's asides in Italian. On later embassies Bonner always seemed to be on friendly terms with the Italian ambassadors attached to the court he was serving. Bonner maintained his interest in the language and in a letter to Richard Lechmere after his deprivation in 1549 quoted Italian proverbs.<sup>27</sup>

With his interest in Petrarch and Castiglione Bonner was acquainting himself with two of the greatest exponents of the

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25. B.M.: Add.Ms. 48036, f.83v. When he was in France Bonner wrote to the Constable in French: St.P., viii, p.171 note (L.P., XIV (i).446), L.P., XIV (i).353(i); L.P., XIII (ii).143(2); Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the manuscripts...at Hatfield, i, (ed.S.R.Bird, etc.), 1883, p.84. See also Bonner's letter to Thirlby of 24 August 1542: L.P., XVII.669(2.ii).
26. See K.Lambley, The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times, Publications of the University of Manchester, French Series, iii, 1930, pp.64-65.
27. P.R.O.: S.P.1/57, f.80 (L.P., IV(iii).6346); Burnet, op.cit. p.61 (L.P., VI.1425); See below, chap.7, p.196, Chap.8, pp.165-266; Burnet, op.cit., v, p.253.

Italian Renaissance. How far Bonner was influenced by them is difficult to say. Although he sometimes reveals an interest in books,<sup>28</sup> and pictures,<sup>29</sup> he was not an exceptionally cultured man, a Thomas More, or a Reginald Pole.

It was probably as a lawyer that Bonner first attracted Wolsey's notice. Bonner may have been ordained as early as 1519, but it is not possible to know exactly from which bishop he received holy orders. Nor does evidence survive of Bonner's attitude to his ordination. Whether he felt deeply its spiritual significance or whether it was little more than a necessary step in his career are questions which can have no answers.<sup>30</sup> At all events he was not a divine. Although he is referred to as being one of Wolsey's chaplains at the time of the Cardinal's death,<sup>31</sup> it was probably with his legal expertise and not his spiritual counsel that he served the Cardinal.

It is possible that Bonner's connection with the prior of Worcester was instrumental in introducing him to Wolsey. At about

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28. When he was in Hamburg, Bonner commissioned Dr. Adams to buy him books and pictures: B.M.: Add.Ms. 48036, f.176, and Adams also offered to give him a history of Denmark, Sweden and Norway: Ibid. f.189a.

29. See his letter to Lord Lisle in 1538, in which he mentioned that he enclosed a print as a present: P.R.O.: S.P. 3/2, f.39 (L.P., XIV (i).1307). See also below, Chap. 7, p.199.

30. Wood, op.cit., col.369; see above, chap.1, p.17.

31. R.S.Sylvester, ed., The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish, Early English Text Society, ccxliii for 1957, 1959, p.151, L.P., IV (iii).6411.

the time Prior More was helping Bonner with the fees for his doctorate, the priory was undergoing a visitation from one of Wolsey's commissaries.<sup>32</sup> It is not inconceivable that in one of his letters to the Cardinal, the Prior mentioned his clever protégé. On the other hand Wolsey was no doubt aware of the names of the doctors of law at Oxford and he may have needed no prompting to choose Bonner to serve him. However, neither the date nor the manner of Bonner's introduction to Wolsey can be exactly determined.

In 1530 Bonner was acting for Wolsey as commissary for dispensations, or "faculties",<sup>33</sup> and he may have been holding this office for some time. As metropolitan and legate Wolsey had frequently to grant dispensations from canonical rules, and he was empowered to grant more dispensations than the ordinary diocesan bishop. For instance, as metropolitan he could license a clerk to be absent from his cure in order to study, and as legate he was probably empowered to grant dispensations for illegitimacy to men proceeding to orders. As commissary of the faculties Bonner probably controlled the issue of such dispensations as were within Wolsey's power to grant.<sup>34</sup> It is possible that before he entered Wolsey's

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32. See above, p.45 ; J.M.Wilson, "The Visitations and Injunctions of Cardinal Wolsey and Archbishop Cranmer to the Priory of Worcester in 1526 and 1534 respectively", Worcestershire Archaeological Society, Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers, xxxvi(ii), 1922, p.357.

33. Cavendish, 6p.cit., p.152, J.Stow, Annales or a general Chronicle of England, 1631, col.556b., R.Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, iii, 1808, p.752.

34. I.J.Churchill, Canterbury Administration: The Administrative Machinery of the Archbishopric of Canterbury illustrated from the Original Records, Church Historical Society, 1, 1933, pp. 505-506.

service Bonner had acted as the Bishop of Worcester's commissary for dispensations. When the dispensing powers of the Pope were transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1534 it is possible that Bonner was appointed master ~~of the Court~~ <sup>an office</sup> of Faculties, erected by Act of Parliament to deal with the licences and dispensations granted by the Archbishop.<sup>35</sup> Whether or not Bonner continued to control dispensations after Wolsey's death in 1530, while he was the Cardinal's commissary he was probably able to profit considerably from the office. The fees charged for dispensations were high, and a proportion of them were probably paid to the commissary for his services.<sup>36</sup>

As well as being commissary for the faculties, Bonner acted as a general legal adviser to Wolsey and his officials. In 1529 Edward Jones, Wolsey's commissary in Wales, had come into conflict with the Bishop of Bangor. He wrote to Cromwell asking him to get an inhibition against the Dean of Bangor with a summons to appear before Wolsey for contempt. Jones said that "the opteynyng of ye <sup>said</sup> inhibicion" should be done with the advice of Bonner and Rowland Lee.<sup>37</sup>

Bonner may have acted as a legal adviser to Wolsey's

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35. No master is known to have been appointed to the Court of Faculties until Nicholas Wotton was appointed in 1538, but tradition has survived that Bonner held this office, and his friend Stephen Vaughan was appointed clerk of the <sup>faculties</sup> ~~the Court~~ in 1534: Bliss, ed., op.cit., col.369, see also J.Strype, Memorials of...Thomas Cranmer, 1840, p.102; Churchill, op.cit., pp.580, 586, G.R. Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government, 1953, p.260, note 2.
36. W.Hooper, "The Court of Faculties". E.H.R., xxv, 1910, pp.676-677, 682.
37. P.R.O.: S.P.1/53, f.287 (L.P., IV(iii).5533), see also A.F. Pollard, Wolsey, 1953, pp.206-207.

commissary, William Benett when he pronounced the dissolution of the marriage of Sir John Stanley in 1528.<sup>38</sup> Bonner was probably one of the commissioners who went to Worcester soon after Dr. Alen had visited the priory as Wolsey's commissary in 1525. On this occasion also his legal knowledge may have been of use.<sup>39</sup>

Bonner was able to benefit from his connection with the Cardinal when he was building up his legal practice. It was "by the assignment of the co<sup>r</sup>te of the Audien(ce) of the right hon(our)-able & rev(er)end/ father in god the late lorde Cardinale" that Bonner was "assigned to be of the counsayl w(i)<sup>th</sup>...Hubberd beyng a veray poore man/ to helpe him in the cowse of matrimony agenyst... Margaret". In 1531 one Robert Howard charged Bonner with abducting his wife Margaret and forcing her to marry Bonner's servant John Hubberd. As well as relating how he first came to be involved in Hubberd's affairs, Bonner declared that he had been so moved by pity for Hubberd's just cause that he had not taken any

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38. Westminster Abbey Muniments 9279, see above, chap. 1, p.31

39. In a letter of complaint written in 1535 one of the monks of the priory of Worcester, John Musarde, said that soon after Dr. Alen's visitation a commission came to the priory, one of whose members was "m(aster) bonar": P.R.O.: S.P.5/4, f.157v. (L.P., IX.52 (2.iii)). There is no record of a visitation of the priory taking place between Allen's in 1525 and Cranmer's in 1534. The commission on which Bonner is said to have served, was probably sent to do no more than to take prior's oath to Allen's injunctions to the priory which Wolsey had ratified in November 1526. Bonner may have visited the priory in an official capacity and not as a suppliant sometime during the winter of 1526-1527. Ibid., Wilson, loc.cit., D.Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, iii, The Tudor Age, 1959, pp.125-126, 83, note 3.

fee for his services in obtaining Margaret's divorce from Robert by virtue of her pre-contract with John. Bonner may also have helped Hubberd to obtain the letter from the official of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the parish priest of Tilney commanding him to marry John and Margaret. Bonner declared that John and Margaret had married and had lived lawfully as man and wife until Howard kidnapped her. This case is interesting because it shows the course of events leading, on one occasion, to Bonner's advocacy of a cause in the spiritual courts. It also reveals his close acquaintance with the procedure of the Star Chamber in 1531 when he declared that he was "not bounde" to answer interrogatories as well as filing his answer to the bill of complaint. He begged the Court that the "oolde auncient order herin may be kept".<sup>40</sup>

No other record has been found which shows so clearly Bonner's practice as an advocate in the spiritual courts and his early skill in legal procedure. In later years he acted as a judge in the Court of Requests and determined cases of piracy, but this aspect of his career will be discussed with his other services to the Crown in the 1530s. It is likely that Bonner was successfully building up his practice as a civilian lawyer in the years before 1530. On 15 October 1526 he became a member of Doctors' Commons. The "Association of doctors of law and of advocates of the church

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40. P.R.O.: St.Ch. 2/21/33, ff.1-8v., esp. ff.3, 5, 7. See also C.G.Bayne and W.H.Dunham, Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII, Selden Society, lxxv for the year 1956, 1958, pp. xcvi-xcvii.

of Christ at Canterbury" had probably been founded before 1509. An unofficial body, it was composed of those licensed to practise as advocates before the courts whose procedure was linked with the civil law. The doctors had their residence in a prebendal mansion in St. Paul's, behind the houses on the north side of Paternoster Row.<sup>41</sup> Although Bonner had his own house at Newington about 1529,<sup>42</sup> he may have lived at Doctors' Commons at some time. At all events his membership of the college was an indication that he was establishing himself as a civilian advocate.

During the last eighteen months of the cardinal's life Bonner acted for him in some of his negotiations to restore himself in the king's favour. With the failure of the legatine court to secure Henry's divorce, Wolsey's influence over the king, and his pre-eminent position in the government were seriously threatened. Stephen Gardiner, who had been Wolsey's chaplain and secretary, became the king's secretary on 28 July 1529. Gardiner's appointment did not coincide with Wolsey's dismissal, but it was a sign that the Cardinal's days of power were over.<sup>43</sup>

41. (C.Coote), Sketches of the Lives and Characters of Eminent English Civilians, 1804, p.22; Holdsworth, op.cit., p.235; E.J.Davies, "Doctors Commons, its Title and Topography", London Topographical Record, xv, 1931, pp.40-41. See also Senior, op.cit., passim.

42. P.R.O.: St.Ch. 2/21/33, f.7.

43. Bonner was with Wolsey at the beginning of 1529: L.P., Addenda, 1 (i).634; Pollard, op.cit., pp.233-235.



At the end of August<sup>44</sup> and the beginning of September 1529 Wolsey employed Bonner to take his messages and instructions to the king and his secretary. During these weeks Bonner was continually travelling from Wolsey, living at his palace, The More, between Rickmansworth and Nor<sup>th</sup>wood, to the king hunting at Woodstock.<sup>45</sup> At this time the king refused to allow Wolsey to come to court but he still needed his advice on two important matters. The king wanted to know how Wolsey thought he should deal with the Pope's revocation of the divorce case to Rome and also his opinion on the treaty concluded between the French and the Imperialists at Cambrai at the beginning of August.

About 24 August 1529 Wolsey sent Bonner and Edward Carne to declare what action the king should take with the papal legate Campeggio and Queen Katharine's counsel, the Bishop of Bath, about the Pope's citation of the king to Rome. Edward Carne, a Welshman from Glamorganshire, had studied at Oxford, where he proceeded doctor of civil law in 1524, the year before Bonner. He had acted as one of Wolsey's commissaries for the suppression of monasteries. Bonner and Carne were to be joined in the English embassy to the

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44. It is possible that Bonner was the "Master B." who delivered Wolsey's letter to Gardiner and the king on 1 August 1529, but it was definitely he who accompanied Carne to the king with Wolsey's messages about 24 August: L.P., IV(iii).5821, see J.A.Muller, ed., The Letters of Stephen Gardiner, 1933, pp.25-26 where the identification of Bonner and "Master B." is made; P.R.O.: S.P.1/55, ff.70-71 (L.P., IV(iii).5867).

45. Pollard, op.cit., p.148, note, L.P., IV(iii).5871; L.P., IV(iii).5869.

to the Pope in 1532 and 1533, and they later served together not only in other diplomatic negotiations but also as joint commissioners determining Admiralty cases. At least until 1538 Bonner remained on friendly terms with Carne, whose long and varied diplomatic career culminated in his return to Rome as resident ambassador in the reign of Mary.<sup>46</sup>

In the first week of September Wolsey conceived a plan to prevent the divorce being determined at Rome. Once again he sent Bonner and Carne to the court at Woodstock, and Gardiner obtained an audience with the king so that they could tell him of Wolsey's plan. To avoid writing the king's opinion in detail Gardiner told Bonner and Carne to report their conversation with the king to Wolsey. Although the king liked the cardinal's idea, it appears to have rested on the Queen's co-operation and no more was heard of it.<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile Gardiner and Wolsey were corresponding about the treaty which had been signed at Cambrai. In this peace treaty Francis renounced his claims in Italy and Charles agreed not to press his rights in Burgundy. The agreement was sealed by the

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46. P.R.O.: S.P.1/55, ff.70-71 (L.P., VI(iii).5867); see below, chap. 4, p.83, chap. 7, p.201, chap.9, p.285; L.P., XIII(ii).640, 668, L.P., XIV(ii).779(ii); biography of Carne in D.N.B.: L.P., XIII(ii).1033.

47. Muller, op.cit., p.40 (L.P., IV(iii).5928), see also L.P., IV(iii).5923, 5925.

arrangement of a marriage between Francis and Eleanor of Austria. Wolsey had compared the treaty Francis had signed in Madrid in 1526 and the new treaty. Instructing Bonner at length Wolsey commissioned his chaplain to tell the king that he thought it dangerous that in the treaty of Cambrai Henry was not protected by a qualification to the article of mutual defence between the emperor and the French King, as he had been in the treaty of Madrid. Probably on the same occasion Bonner took to the king Wolsey's views on how the payments to Henry which Francis had taken over from the emperor should be paid.<sup>48</sup> Bonner arrived at Woodstock on 30 August. Gardiner wrote to Wolsey that he did not think that he would have a chance to speak to the king immediately, but in fact the secretary had a long discussion with Henry on the following day. The King and Gardiner did not think that the qualification to the Treaty of Madrid protected Henry's interests more than the Treaty recently signed at Cambrai. Gardiner commissioned Bonner to tell Wolsey all the details of the conversation he had had with the king.<sup>49</sup>

As well as furthering his career as a lawyer, Bonner's connection with Wolsey gave him his first introduction to the arts

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48. F.C.Spooner, "The Hapsburg-Valois Struggle", The New Cambridge Modern History, ii, 1958, pp.343-345; L.P., IV(iii).5832; B.M.: Cotton, Caligula D.x, f.393 (L.P., IV(iii).5882); B.M.: Harleian Ms. 283, f.68 (L.P., IV(iii).5891); P.R.O.: S.P.1/55, ff.92-93 (L.P., IV(iii).5881(ii)), L.P., IV(iii).5884.
49. Muller, ed., op.cit., p.33 (L.P., IV(iii).5890); ibid., pp.34-35 (L.P., IV(iii).5894).

of diplomacy. Although he had no independent rôle to play, on these visits to the Court on Wolsey's behalf Bonner was something more than a messenger. On another occasion, taking a message to the Earl of Shrewsbury,<sup>50</sup> his duties seem to have been confined to the delivery of his master's letters. Although he could not have said or done anything which would materially have affected Wolsey's disgrace in the following months the cardinal's employment of him in the negotiations with the king showed that at this time Wolsey valued his services.

It is possible that at the time of his indictment for praemunire and his conviction in the King's Bench, Wolsey was using Bonner to negotiate with Queen Katharine.<sup>51</sup> In 1532 the Imperial ambassador in England wrote that Bonner "at the beginning of this difference was one of the Queen's Councillors, but has since been gained over to the other side". It is possible that Bonner served the Queen after Wolsey's death in November 1530, or that Chapuys was mistaken when he described Bonner as her councillor. When Bonner heard of the queen's death in 1536 he mentioned in a letter only that "the Princess Dowager is departed & buried solely at Peterborowe". He gave no hint that he had ever served her.<sup>52</sup>

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50. P.R.O.: S.P.1/55, f.172 (L.P., IV(iii).5964).

51. Prof. Pollard made this suggestion: Pollard, op.cit., p.284.

52. Sp.Cal., IV(ii), p.376 (L.P., V.762); see the letter from Bonner and Richard Cavendish in Bonner's handwriting to the Bishop of Hereford, 11 March 1536: B.M.: Add. Ms.48036, f.126v.

During 1529 Wolsey seems to have been satisfied with Bonner's behaviour and his skill in correctly communicating his instructions. In the Spring of 1530, however, the cardinal, trying desperately to regain the king's favour, wrote to Cromwell to placate him in case Bonner had done anything to offend him. Wolsey had sent Bonner to Cromwell with a document, perhaps a draft of the royal pardon which Wolsey had drawn up for himself. He had charged Bonner to communicate everything he had told him to Cromwell and ordered his chaplain to do nothing without Cromwell's advice. Wolsey begged Cromwell if Bonner "for lake of wyte and experyence hath not, as I fere me, done well let nat (me) peryshe for the same". It is possible that on this occasion Wolsey made Bonner the scapegoat for his troubles and in his mind blamed his chaplain's ineptitude for his own inability to force his way back into the king's service.<sup>53</sup>

Wolsey may have been irritated by Bonner, but he kept him in his entourage. Bonner travelled to the North when Wolsey was exiled to York, and had his own apartment at Cawood Castle. On All Saints' Day 1530, Bonner and some others of Wolsey's chaplains were sitting at dinner at Cawood when Wolsey's great silver cross was accidentally knocked down and fell on Bonner's head. Wolsey identified himself with the overthrown cross, and the blood running

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53. St.P., i, pp.359-360 (L.P., IV(iii).6203), see L.P., IV(iii).6202.

down Bonner's temple seemed to him an omen of death.<sup>54</sup> Wolsey's biographer may have embellished some incident which had occurred at Cawood shortly before Wolsey's death. But it is unlikely that he had invented Bonner's presence with the cardinal.

By 1530 Bonner had begun to establish his reputation as a lawyer. By serving Wolsey he acquired an opportunity to enlarge his legal practice and also his first introduction to diplomacy and intrigue. Bonner was an able lawyer and a good linguist, who had shown himself capable of loyalty not only to his friends but also to his first master.

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54. P.R.O.: S.C.11/766 (L.P., X.86); Sylvester, op.cit., p.152.

### Chapter 3.

#### Bonner's friendship with Thomas Cromwell, and his preferments.

During the 1530s Thomas Cromwell's patronage was the decisive factor in Bonner's success. His friendship profoundly affected Bonner's career and his later development. To an able politician like Cromwell, Bonner, clever, ambitious and anxious to please, was a useful tool.

Bonner's close connection with Cromwell, through which he received diplomatic commissions and ecclesiastical preferment, was no secret. In February 1540, when Bonner had incurred Francis I's grave displeasure, Cromwell defended him in the face of Henry VIII's anger. The French ambassador in England explained to his master that Bonner was one of Cromwell's following.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible that it was during the fifteen months following Wolsey's death that Bonner established himself firmly in Cromwell's favour. Both servants of Wolsey, Bonner may have met Cromwell shortly after he began to act for the cardinal. But their first recorded meeting was when Bonner delivered Wolsey's messages to Cromwell in the early months of 1530. Probably by April 1530 Bonner was intimate enough with Cromwell to ask to borrow books.<sup>2</sup>

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1. B.M.: Add.Ms., 33514, f.34 (L.P., XV.155).

2. See above, chap.2, p.53; St.P., i, pp.359-360 (L.P., IV(111). 6203); L.P., IV(111), 6346.

Bonner's appointment as assistant to the ambassadors in Rome in 1532 followed closely on Cromwell's entry into the inner ring of the king's councillors. On 24 January 1532 Bonner wrote to Cromwell thanking him for the great kindness which "I have/ mony wayes fonde at your handes...standing/ your great detter I shall not fayle,,not oonly,,to pray for yow as I am bonde/ but also bere unto yow that hart whiche shalbe desirous to/ shewe unto you, gratuite, s(er)vice, & pleasure".<sup>3</sup> In 1538 when Bonner was appointed ambassador first to Charles V and then to Francis I he wrote to Cromwell thanking him for his "infinite and inestimable goodness" in advancing him "unto the office of legation from such a prince as my sovereign lord is, unto the Emperor and French King". When he became Bishop of Hereford in the same year, Bonner wrote obsequiously to Cromwell: he was "a poore wretche...knowing my i(m)p(er)fection in all degrees", but Cromwell knew his "nature/ I perceyve far better than I have discretion to waye it my selfe". In the same letter he also thanked Cromwell for his "fatherlie, grave,/ and wise frendlie counsell that oonles I doo willinglie transgresse/ the same (as by gods g<sup>r</sup>(a)ce I shall nev(er) doo) I may rule my p(ro)ceedings/ to the kings co(n)tantation".<sup>4</sup> Cromwell was probably also instrumental in securing the Bishopric of London

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3. G.R.Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government, 1953, p.93; P.R.O.: S.P.1/69, f.76 (L.P., V.743).

4. J.Foxe, Acts and Monuments ed. J.Pratt and J.Stoughton, v, (1877) p.150 (L.P., XIII(ii).269); Inner Temple, Petyt Ms.538/47, f.3 (L.P., XIII(ii).60).



for Bonner in the autumn of 1539, although on this occasion Bonner addressed his letter of thanks to the king and not to the Lord Privy Seal.<sup>5</sup>

It was probably as a reliable agent that Cromwell valued Bonner most. Bonner was "moost bounden" to Cromwell, to whom he wrote "I co(m)mitte all, and my self to, unto the good order & dexteritie/ of your hono(ur)able good lordeship<sup>n</sup>".<sup>6</sup> By assisting Bonner's promotion Cromwell secured for himself a greater control of the conduct of English diplomacy. For instance, when Bonner was resident ambassador with Francis I, although Bonner sent seven reports to Henry VIII twenty letters to Cromwell have survived for the same period. Bonner had few inhibitions about spying on his fellow ambassadors or quarrelling violently with them, if he thought it would please his patron. Indeed he wrote "all other things/ that shal be your pleasure I shal doo". The ambassador may have written humbly and obediently intending no more than to please his patron with flattery. But Bonner's declaration that he would tell Cromwell everything "though it were against my own brother" was probably sincere.<sup>7</sup>

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5. B.M.: Cotton, Caligula E.iv, f.4 (L.P., XIV(ii).270), see also G.R.Elton, "Thomas Cromwell's Decline and Fall", The Cambridge Historical Journal, x, 1951, p.168.

6. St.P., viii, p.62 (L.P., XIII(ii).557); P.R.O.: S.P.1/137, f.203v. (L.P., XIII(ii).615(1)).

7. See below, Chap.7, p.189, and chap.6, p.169; P.R.O.: S.P.1/135, f.208 (L.P., XIII(ii).398); Inner Temple, Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.11v. ?(L.P., XIII(ii).270), this letter was printed by J.Bruce, "Recovery of the lost Accusation of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Poet, by Bishop Bonner", The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review, n.s., xxxiii, 1850, pp.563-570.

Bonner was careful not to forget those small kindnesses which nourish friendship. On 24 December 1532 he wrote to Cromwell from Italy "This dialoge bytween Marforius & Pasquillus, which of late cam to my handes, I doo send to your Maystership to laughe, not havying a better thing as I moche desired". On his return to England at the beginning of 1533 he sent Cromwell "iiij cheses of parmasan", and a few weeks later a Worcestershire cheese. In August 1539 he sent Cromwell "six weigh of Bay salt". More important than these small presents was the New Year's Gift in 1539 of £100.<sup>8</sup>

As well as making presents to Cromwell Bonner gave him advowsons in the diocese of Hereford and London.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, in 1538, when Bonner was Bishop-Elect of Hereford<sup>10</sup> but absent in France, the financial administration of the see was under Cromwell's supervision. It was, for instance, Cromwell who, probably in October 1538, decided that the bailiffs of the episcopal manors belonging to the bishop of Hereford, should "contenew & occupie

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8. St.P., vii, p.397 (L.P., V.1658); P.R.O.: S.P.1/74, f.130 (L.P., VI.103); L.P., VI.158; L.P., XIV(ii).47; L.P., XIV(ii).782, p.325.

9. A.T.Bannister, ed., Registrum Caroli Bothe, Episcopi Herefordensis. A.D.MDXVI-MDXXXV, Canterbury and York Society, xxviii, 1921 pp.384-385; L.P., XVIII(i).346(62), see also L.P., XIV(ii).763.

10. On 24 August 1538 Henry VIII wrote to Bonner telling him he had raised him to the Bishopric of Hereford. The congé d'élire was issued to the Chapter on 5 October and the royal assent to the election was given on 27 November: L.P., XIII(ii).261, 734(6), 967(42), see also L.P., XIII(ii).967(43).

their offices like as before/ thei did untill thei made ther accomptes at the next/Audite".<sup>11</sup> Although Bonner had taken into his own hands the spiritualities of the bishopric and had appointed a vicar-general in March 1539, Thomas Evans' visitation of the diocese in April was undertaken on a commission from Cromwell as the king's vicegerent and not on a commission from the bishop.<sup>12</sup>

It is probable that Cromwell's favour secured for Bonner many of his other preferments besides the bishoprics of Hereford and London. Bonner probably received most of his benefices during the 1530s. It is unfortunate that the exact dates of his institutions to his benefices have not been found. Bonner received the rectories of East Dereham in Norfolk,<sup>13</sup> Bleadon in Somerset<sup>14</sup> and Cheriburton in Yorkshire<sup>15</sup> between 1532 and 1535 and the archdeaconry of Leicester in October 1535.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that he held some of his other preferments before 1530. By 1535 he was

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11. P.R.O.: S.P.1/137, f.194 (L.P., XIII(11).600).

12. Bannister, op.cit., p.383, P.R.O.: S.P.1/150, f.137 (L.P., XIV(1).774).

13. Bonner probably received East Dereham in 1534 and he is said to have resigned it in 1540: L.P., VII.545, New., i, p.26.

14. At some date between 1532 and 1535 Bonner became rector of Bleadon: H.Maxwell-Lyte, ed., The Registers of Thomas Wolsey Bishop of Bath and Wells 1518-1523..., Somerset Record Society, lv, 1940, p.163, Valor, i, p.190.

15. Bonner probably held the rectory of Cheriburton alias Northburton from 1532 until some time before 1541: L.P., V.1658, L.P., XVI.580(30), see below, p.74.

16. Le Neve, ii, p.63.

rector of Davenham in Cheshire,<sup>17</sup> and of Tref Egloyse in Cardigan.<sup>18</sup> In 1539 he also held the rectories of Uppingham in Rutland<sup>19</sup> and Bredon in Worcestershire,<sup>20</sup> and a canonry in the collegiate church of Llandewybrevye in the diocese of St. David's as well as a prebend in the cathedral of St. David's.<sup>21</sup> He also held the prebend of Chiswick in St. Paul's<sup>22</sup> and he may have been rector of Ripple in Worcestershire.<sup>23</sup> He was still rector of East Tytherley in 1541.<sup>24</sup> Some at least of these benefices were his in 1529 for in June of that year he received a papal dispensation to hold benefices to the value of 1000 ducats a year. But eight years later, when he received a similar licence from the Crown, he was given permission to hold benefices to the value of £500 a year and to be non-resident.<sup>25</sup>

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17. Bonner was rector of Davenham before 1533 and remained there until 1540: L.P., VI.179, L.P., XVI.220(44).
  18. Bonner was rector of Tref Egloyse in 1535: Valor, iv, p.396.
  19. Bonner resigned Uppingham before November 1541: L.P., XVI.1391 (57).
  20. Bonner resigned Bredon before February 1539-1540; T.R.Nash, Collections for the History of Worcestershire, i, 1781, p.133, note.t.
  21. Bonner resigned his canonry in the collegiate church of Llandewybrevye, St. David's and the prebend of Kilkenny before 15 October 1540 when Mowle was instituted there; L.P., XVI.220(24).
  22. Bonner resigned Chiswick before 4 September 1539: New., I, p.140.
  23. Newcourt said that Bonner was rector of Ripple: ibid., p.26.
  24. H.Chitty, ed., Registra Stephani Gardiner et Johannis Poyntet, Episcoporum Wintoniensium, Canterbury and York Society, xxxvii, 1929-1930, p.179.
  25. P.R.O.: P.R.O.31/9/2, p.135. I am grateful to Dr.J.J.Scarisbrick for drawing my attention to this transcript; L.P., XII(1).1330(60).

Bonner's benefices were scattered all over England. Even before he received the licence for non-residence in 1537, his journeys abroad and the distances between his cures forced him to be absent from many of his parishioners. It is possible that he lived for a time at East Dereham.<sup>26</sup> Bonner may also have lived at Bleadon, for he had friends in Bath. Sometime between 1533 and 1538 Bonner, with his "benefactor" William Woodward and his friend Gilbert Woodward, was executor of the will of Isabel Chauncellor. The executors sued Isabel's daughter-in-law, Joan, for the possession of a tenement situated at the Northgate in Bath.<sup>27</sup>

Nor does Bonner appear to have attended conscientiously to his duties as archdeacon of Leicester. The proceedings of the archidiaconal courts in 1536, 1537 and 1538 were conducted by the commissary and official of the archdeacon, Robert Pachet. A

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26. In 1865 a cottage bearing the date 1503 and situated near the nineteenth century vicarage was known as Bishop Bonner's palace and was similarly described in 1959. This description would be explained by Bonner's residence in Dereham. His concern with the condition of the parsonage might also have been caused by his desire to live there, and not only by his anxiety to increase the value of the benefice: Notes and Queries, 3rd s., viii, 1865, p.247; I am grateful to Miss H.F.M.Prescott for giving me a postcard picture of Bonner's palace in Dereham which she bought while on holiday in Norfolk in 1959; see below, p.75- , 1.77.
27. P.R.O.: C.1/742/54-56; L.P., XIII(ii).491/20), see above chap.1, p.31. When he was Bishop of London, Bonner gave two vicarages to Gilbert Woodward: Reg.Bon., ff.133, 152 (New. i p.812), Reg. Bon., f.136 (New., ii, p.620), see below, chap.11. p.377.

Cambridge Lawyer, Pachet was one of the commissaries of the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese the archdeaconry was. The failure to find any trace of Bonner's activity in the surviving court records does not preclude the possibility that he visited the archdeaconry from time to time, but it seems likely that most of the archdeacon's duties were undertaken by his official.<sup>28</sup>

Bonner's benefices gave him a handsome income. If, at any one time he held all the benefices where he is reputed to have been incumbent he would have had an income of over £350 a year.<sup>29</sup> The poor boy from Worcestershire had not only acquired an income from his legal practice, but was also doing well out of his ecclesiastical preferments.

Bonner did not hesitate to obtain as many benefices as he could. In 1532 he waged a lawsuit with a priest named Hampton, and had a severe quarrel with Thomas Wynter in order to obtain the

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28. Leicester Museums and Art Gallery: 1.D.41/13/2: Archdeaconry Correction Courts Act Books, ii, 1537-1551, and 1.D.41/11/2: Archdeaconry Instance Courts Act Books, ii, 1526-1536; J. and A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigenses, 1st s., iii, 1924, p.296.
29. In 1535 Bleadon's net annual value was £28.0.0, Bredon's £72.11.0, and Northburton's (see above, note 15) £23.6.8. The prebend of Chiswick yielded £17.19.4, Davenham £24.9.5, East Dereham £41.6.5. and the archdeaconry of Leicester £80.12.4. The value of the canonries in the collegiate church of Llandewybrevye varied from £1.6.8. to £38.11.0, but the average annual yield was £10.13.0. Ripple yielded £42.6.8. The average annual income of a resident canon in St.David's was £5.2.6. Tref Egloyse yielded £2.0.0. and Uppingham £20.0.9. in 1535. In the Valor East Tytherly was described as appropriated to the priory of St.Denis, Southampton and of no value: Valor, i, p.190, iii, p.267, v, p.142, i, p.364, v, p.214, iii, p.324, iv, pp.28, 395, iii, p.265, iv, pp.381, 396, 343 and ii, p.17.

the rectory of Cheriburton. On 20 October 1532 Wynter wrote to his friend Runcorne, who may have been one of Wolsey's chaplains,<sup>30</sup> promising to give "my father Hampton" another benefice if he desisted from his lawsuit with Bonner. Wynter believed that, if he persisted, Hampton would be outwitted by Bonner and would lose his case. Four months earlier, rumour had reported that Hampton would be instituted to Cheriburton and it is probable that the lawsuit between him and Bonner was about that benefice.<sup>31</sup> Wynter was provost of the minster of Beverley, in whose jurisdiction Cheriburton was, and in virtue of his office he may have claimed the right to appoint the rector there.<sup>32</sup> Despite his appeal to Cromwell, when he complained vigorously against Bonner, Wynter was not able to keep Bonner out of the benefice. On 24 December 1532 Bonner wrote to Cromwell thanking him for his kindness over Cheriburton, "wherein Mr. Wynter hath otherwise used me than I have giffen cause".<sup>33</sup>

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30. J.A.Muller, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction, 1926, p.37 Runcorne received favour from Cromwell during 1532. He may be identified with the Thomas Runcorne who held the archdeaconry of Bangor from 1525 until his death in 1556. He held prebends at Winchester and Chester: L.P., V.1210, Le Neve, i, p.113, iii, pp.32, 269.

31. L.P., V.1453; L.P., V.1123.

32. A.F.Pollard, Wolsey, 1953, p.309, V.C.H., York, ii, pp.85, 354, 358.

33. P.R.O.: S.P.1/71, ff.142-,43 (L.P., V.1452); St.P., vii, p.394 (L.P., V.1658).

Bonner was not always able to obtain the benefices he wanted. When he was in Rome his Worcestershire friends wrote to him that Cromwell had interceded for him with the king for the vacant rectory of Ribchester. When he thanked Cromwell for his action over Cheriburton Bonner also thanked him for his "moost lovyng and jentell remembrance made for me unto the Kinges Highnes" concerning Ribchester. On this occasion his thanks were somewhat premature for three days before he wrote to Cromwell, Thirlby had been instituted at Ribchester.<sup>34</sup>

As well as being anxious to gain preferments, Bonner was careful to reap as much financial benefit from them as possible. Sometime between 1533 and 1538 Bonner sued the farmer of the rectory of Dereham, John Fiske, for dilapidations. Bonner said that Fiske had farmed the benefice for the former rector, Nicholas Hawkins, and in respect of the "ruyne & decaye" of the parsonage and for the continuance of the farm, he agreed to pay the new rector £19.10.0. Despite Bonner's urgent appeals, Fiske had neither paid Bonner the money nor begun any of the rebuilding which, Bonner declared, was needed on the parsonage.<sup>35</sup>

Although he was anxious that his farmer should pay for dilapidations and repairs, Bonner was himself slow in paying his first-fruits and other debts. In 1534 he argued about the amount

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34. ibid., : V.C.H., Lancaster, vii, p.42.

35. P.R.O.: C.1/731/28.



of first-fruits he should pay for East Dereham. The Bishop of Norwich was persuaded either to remit £20 of the tax of £73.6.8. or to give Bonner five years in which to pay off the whole debt by instalments. Bonner may have chosen the latter course for two years later he still owed the bishop money.<sup>36</sup>

Similarly Bonner argued with the Bishop of Lincoln about certain rents and pensions which the bishop claimed were due from the archdeaconry of Leicester. Bonner and the other archdeacons in the diocese claimed that the sums formerly paid to the Bishop of Lincoln had been Peter's Pence, sent annually to Rome by the bishop for the whole diocese. Since Peter's Pence had been abrogated by act of Parliament the archdeacons claimed that they were no longer obliged to pay the bishop the sums he demanded. The case was determined in Chancery in 1543 in favour of the bishop, although the annual sum demanded from Bonner in respect of his tenure of the archdeaconry was reduced from £29.6.8. to £22, it having been decided that, of the annual rents paid by the archdeacon, £7.6.8. was Peter's Pence and therefore cancelled. By order of the court of Chancery Bonner was ordered to pay the arrears of the pension owing to the bishop, amounting to £66. Although the money was frequently demanded of him he never paid his debt. More than twelve years later the executors of the Bishop of Lincoln sued Bonner in Chancery for the arrears.<sup>37</sup>

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36. L.P.; VII.545, L.P., X.1257(11)

37. P.R.O.: C.1/1427/79. The bill of the executors was filed in Chancery some time between 1555 and 1558.

Dilatory as Bonner was in paying his debts to his diocesan superiors, as Bishop of Hereford he was equally slow in paying his debts to the Crown. In September 1538, immediately after his promotion to Hereford, Bonner wrote to Cromwell begging to be relieved of some of the charges of the see. Six months later he repeated his request. It was not until 4 July 1540 however that Bonner gained some relief. He was acquitted of all debts touching any of his predecessors in the bishopric of Hereford and of his arrears of first-fruits there. But, as bishop, Bonner was also collector of the tenths and subsidies owed to the crown by the clergy in his diocese, and his acquittance did not relieve him of the necessity of paying the clerical tenths. In the Spring of 1544 John Gostwick, treasurer of the Court of First-Fruits, received £41.5.6. from Bonner as part of the £435.13.2. owing to the Crown in tenths from Hereford for the year 1538-1539. In 1552 William Petre, Gostwick's successor, recorded that Bonner had still not paid the remaining £394.7.8.<sup>38</sup>

Bonner's friendship with Cromwell secured for him diplomatic appointments and preferments. Without Cromwell's assistance Bonner might have remained no more than a distinguished civilian lawyer. It is possible that the only way in which Bonner could have advanced his career was by humble obedience to the king's minister. But Bonner's subservience to Cromwell was extreme and

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38. Foxe, op.cit., pp.150-151 (L.P., XIII(11).269); L.P., XIV(1).450; L.P., XV.942(21); P.R.O.: E.336/27/1, f.1v; P.R.O.: S.P.10/16, f.91v.

his rewards correspondingly great. Bonner's anxiety to acquire preferments and his determination to reap as much financial benefit from them as he could were probably not uncommon traits in the society in which he moved. It is possible that a reaction to the poverty of his childhood and youth was an added incentive to Bonner's desire to please Cromwell, who played such an important part in satisfying his ambition.

Part Two: Government Service

## Chapter 4.

### Embassies to Rome, 1532 and 1533.

Henry VIII had failed to secure a divorce from Katharine of Aragon when the legatine court had sat at Blackfriars in 1529. However, he continued to press his cause in Rome, and whatever may have been the varying currents of opinion in England in 1532,<sup>1</sup> there can be no doubt that in that year he was still hopeful of achieving a satisfactory papal verdict.<sup>2</sup>

The Imperial ambassadors in Rome complained continually that the English always created unnecessary delays in their conduct of Henry's case.<sup>3</sup> But the English ambassadors wanted a papal sentence in their favour. They were prepared to go on delaying the process until the Pope and the Cardinals would give such a judgment. On the other hand Clement VII, pressed uncomfortably

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1. See G.R.Elton, England under the Tudors, 1955, p.131. G.R.Elton "The Evolution of A Reformation Statute", E.H.R., lxiv, 1949, p.179, G.R.Elton, "The Commons' Supplication of 1532: Parliamentary Manoeuvres in the Reign of Henry VIII", E.H.R., lxvi, 1951, pp.507-534. A different interpretation of the Commons' Supplication is to be found in J.P.Cooper, "The Supplication against the Ordinaries Reconsidered ", E.H.R., lxxii, 1957, pp.616-641.
2. L.P., V.829, 833, 836, 886, 1036, 1202, 1493. See also J.Scarisbrick, "The Pardon of the Clergy, 1531", The Cambridge Historical Journal, xii, 1956, pp.22-39, esp. pp.38-39.
3. See L.P., V.865, 938, 942, 959, 1059, 1072, 1113, 1256, 1311, 1520, and see also S.Ehses, ed., Römische Dokumente zur Geschichte der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII von England, 1527-1534, Quellen und Forschungen aus der Gebiete der Geschichte, ii, 1893, p.200.

both by the English and by the Imperialists, had no desire to hasten a decision if he could avoid it.<sup>4</sup>

In January 1532<sup>5</sup> Bonner was sent to join the English ambassadors in Rome. The Imperial ambassador in England, Eustace Chapuys, believed that Bonner was originally sent to Italy to secure confirmation from Italian lawyers of the opinion of the Parisian canonists that Henry should not be cited to Rome. This, however, was probably just a rumour that Chapuys heard and passed on. There is little other evidence<sup>6</sup> that Bonner was ever concerned in Henry VIII's efforts to gain the support of the universities and scholars of Europe to his cause. In fact Bonner was sent to help the ambassadors in Rome. Although the king wrote to the English ambassador, Benet, and his colleague, Carne, that they should instruct Bonner fully in the state of the divorce suit,<sup>7</sup> he seems to have been little more than their secretary and assistant during 1532.

For instance, at the end of 1532 the Bishop of Auxerre, Francis I's ambassador in Rome, sent letters to France by "ce porteur, qui est ung docteur anglois". Bonner was not joined in

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4. See for instance, Mantua, h.881, letter of Guido da Crema to the Duchess of Mantua, 3 March 1532.

5. L.P., V.743.

6. L.P., V.762; see also R.Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, iii, 1808, p.767. Holinshed said that the Bishop of London was sent to collect the opinions of the universities in 1531 and identified the Bishop as Bonner. Stokesley was, however, Bishop of London until 1539, and it is not known that he went abroad for the king in 1531: see the biography of Stokesley in D.N.B.

7. P.R.O.: S.P.1/69, f.65 (L.P., V.732).

the commission of October 1532 in which Henry VIII ordered his ambassadors with the Emperor and the Pope "to treat for a universal peace in conjunction with the ambassadors of Francis". Edward Carne emphasized Bonner's distinct position when on 7 December 1532 he wrote to the king of the departure from Rome of the "Ambassadors and Mayster Boner".<sup>8</sup>

Bonner probably owed his appointment to the embassy in Rome to his friendship with Thomas Cromwell,<sup>9</sup> and it is possible that Cromwell, at this time consolidating his position in England, felt that he would strengthen his own control of affairs abroad if, through Bonner, the actions of the ambassador could be watched.

William Benet, who had been the English ambassador in Rome since 1529,<sup>10</sup> was doubtful of the wisdom of the king's policy in the divorce. It is unlikely that Henry or Cromwell knew that he had written to Queen Katharine that "she had no better servant, nor anyone who prayed God more heartily for the preservation of her royal estate", or that he had confessed to the Pope his sorrow that the king threw the world "into confusion for a fancy," when Katharine was so well suited to him.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the king and

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8. P.R.O.: P.R.O. 31/3/6, f.232 and L.P., VI.26; L.P., V.1482; St.P., vii, p.392 (L.P., V.1612).

9. See above, chap. 3, p.67.

10. Biography of Benet in D.N.B. Benet had been recalled in November 1531, but returned to Rome before Bonner set out: L.P., V.711, 744.

11. L.P., V.696; L.P., V.834.

his minister may have thought that Benet, whom the French ambassador in Rome described as "homme gros et gras, qui ne peult pas faire grand diligence", was insufficiently active on Henry's behalf, and that a younger and more lively man would ensure that no opportunity for furthering Henry's interests would be overlooked.<sup>12</sup> It is also possible that Cromwell knew of Benet's close connection with the Duke of Norfolk<sup>13</sup> and for that reason was anxious to have his own protégé in Rome.

Even if Bonner was secretly to keep a watch on the ambassador, he was also commissioned<sup>14</sup> to assist his friend Dr. Carne. Edward Carne had been in Rome since 1530<sup>15</sup> and he was concerned with the legal and technical issues before the papal courts, the Rota and the Consistory, rather than with the strictly diplomatic negotiations which were handled by Benet.

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12. The Bishop of Auxerre to the Bishop of Bayonne, 16 September 1532: P.R.O.: P.R.O. 31/3/6, f.166 (transcript of Ms. Dupuy 260, f.358v., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). see also, L.P., V.835. Benet died in September 1533: L.P., VI.1156, 1299, 1300.
  13. Benet not only sent some of his despatches to Norfolk, but also transacted private business for him in Rome. See the letters from Norfolk of 29 February, 19 May and 6 November 1532: L.P., V.831, 1027, 1522, and the letters from Benet to Norfolk of 7 February 1532: B.M.: Add. Ms. 48044, ff.42-43, 15 October, 1 November and 2 December 1532: L.P., V.1431, 1503, 1601. Benet also undertook personal commissions for Gardiner: L.P., V.1007.
  14. See Henry VIII's letter to Ghinucci, the absentee Bishop of Worcester and Sir Gregory Casale, the two Italians who were acting for the king in Rome: St.P., vii, p.337, (L.P., V.733).
  15. See above, chap. 2, p.60.



Bonner was sent first to Gardiner, at that time Henry's ambassador in France, for the latter was to read Bonner's instructions and to use his discretion in enlarging them.<sup>16</sup> Bonner had known Gardiner some years before, when, in the summer of 1529, he had acted as Wolsey's messenger to the King's Secretary.<sup>17</sup> In January 1532 Gardiner wrote to Benet from Rouen saying that the king had "willed this berer to repaire by me to be instructe by me howe to use himself there". Years later Bonner grumbled that Gardiner had treated him spitefully and unkindly when he had met him in France. It is possible that when, in December 1532, Bonner asked Cromwell to recommend him to Gardiner, he wanted his patron to defend him against the bishop.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand it is possible that when Bonner and Gardiner had their furious quarrel in 1538 Bonner imagined that their antipathy extended back to 1532. But at whatever period their aversion to each other may have begun, at no time would Bonner have taken pleasure in being treated as an apprentice.

Bonner took with him to Rome the King's Proxy. Henry had told Gardiner to use his discretion "specially touching/ the

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16. P.R.O.: S.P.1/69, f.74 (L.P., V.742), see also N.Pocock, Records of the Reformation, The Divorce 1527-1533, ii, 1870, p.184 (L.P., V.791).
17. L.P., IV(iii).5867, 5881 (ii), 5884, 5902. See above, chap. 2, p. 60, and also below, chap. 7, p. 189.
18. J.A.Muller, ed., The Letters of Stephen Gardiner, 1933, p.45, (L.P., V.755); J.Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J.Pratt and J.Stoughton, v, (1877) p.154; L.P., V.1658.

conceyving of o(u)<sup>r</sup> proxe nowe sent/ unto Rome" by Bonner.<sup>19</sup> When Carne first arrived in Rome in 1530, he was described by officials of the Roman camera as "procur(ator)", for the King of England. In earlier days and in normal circumstances this might well have been the style of a second diplomatic envoy at the papal court, especially when he was inferior to the ambassador and particularly concerned with legal negotiations.<sup>20</sup> But these were not normal times and Henry had not commissioned Carne to act as his proctor in discussions about the divorce in Consistory or before the Rota. On the contrary, he had been told to act as "excusator", to declare that the king could neither plead by proxy in a cause on which the ease of his conscience depended, nor appear in person in Rome.<sup>21</sup> In 1532 Bonner was sent to assist not the King's proctor but "Doctore Carne impedito, Excusatoris partes ille subeat, et alter alterius vices obeat".<sup>22</sup> Throughout 1532, the English envoys

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19. P.R.O.: S.P.1/69, f.74 (L.P., V.742); see also Pocock, op.cit., p.184 (L.P., V.791).

20. P.R.O.: E.30/1012 (L.P., IV(111).6605); B.Behrens, "Origins of the Office of the English Resident Ambassador in Rome", E.H.R., xlix, 1934, pp.640-656, esp. p.644. Miss Behrens believed that from 1509 the English proctor as a separate entity from the English ambassador entirely disappeared in Rome: ibid., p.656. She may have considered that since the description of Carne as "proctor" in 1530 was inaccurate, such a style was not evidence for the separate existence after 1509 of an envoy fulfilling the specific functions of the earlier "proctor".

21. Carne's commission has not been found, but in a catalogue of papers, now lost, formerly at Brussels, there is a notice of a memorandum presented by Carne from which it is possible to guess at part at least of his commission: P.R.O.: P.R.O.31/8/145, pp. 42d.-43 (L.P., V.75).

22. St.P., vii, p.337 (L.P., V.733).

continued to object vigorously that the Pope had no authority to summon the king by proxy. Although the Imperialists suspected the existence of the document Bonner took with him to Rome, it was not produced. At the beginning of 1531 the English agents in Rome had possessed a proxy which they did not use.<sup>23</sup> It is possible that Henry's decision to send a new proxy by Bonner revealed a willingness to capitulate on this issue if it seemed that the Imperialists might win a sentence for Katherine on the grounds of Henry's non-appearance. During 1532 the success of his ambassadors' delaying tactics made such a concession unnecessary.

Although Benet complained in September 1532<sup>24</sup> that he and his colleagues had received no instructions for four months the king had not lost interest in the proceedings at Rome. During the autumn of 1532 Henry made a great diplomatic endeavour to secure an answer from the Pope. Henry's policy towards Francis I and his anxiety not only to make a closer treaty with Francis, but to meet him at Calais and Boulogne in October 1532, were the result of his urgent conviction that with Francis' co-operation and support the Pope would be forced to bring the suit at Rome to a

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23. L.P., V.836; L.P., V.1159; St.P., vii, pp.282-283 (L.P., V.93).

24. L.P., V.1321.

satisfactory conclusion.<sup>25</sup> Tedious and futile though the actions of the English ambassadors in Rome during 1532 may seem, they were neither meaningless nor yet a deliberate disguise for a different policy.

Bonner does not seem to have had any part in threatening the Pope with the first Act of Annates. This statute abolished the payments made by the bishops to the Curia when they entered their sees, but it contained a delaying clause,<sup>26</sup> by which the operation of the act was held up until the king should confirm it by letters patent. Henry VIII sent a copy of the statute to Benet, Carne and Ghinucci, the Italian Bishop of Worcester, who, with Sir Gregory Casale and the Englishmen, was acting for Henry in Rome. After showing it to the Pope, the ambassadors were to persuade him that the statute might be turned to the advantage of both

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25. See for instance L.P., V. 807, 941, 1013, 1109, 1187, 1337; P.R.O.: P.R.O.31/3/6, ff.139, 168. The treaty with France was concluded on 23 June: L.P., V.1117, and ratified in Paris on 15 September 1532, L.P., V.1337. See also V.L. Bourrily "François Ier et Henri VIII L'intervention de la France dans l'affaire du divorce, à propos de travaux récents", Révue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, i, 1899, pp.271-284. This article is a review of P.A.Hamy, Entrevue de François Premier avec Henry VIII, à Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1898. Parliament was prorogued from 4 November 1532 until the following February probably so that action might be postponed until Henry and his ministers had seen what effect French pressure had on the Pope.
26. This clause was drafted by Cromwell: see G.R.Elton, "A Note on the First Act of Annates", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xxiii, 1950, pp.203-204.

Pope and cardinals.<sup>27</sup> Benet and the Italians explained the Act to the Pope on 29 April but with little effect.<sup>28</sup> When the ambassadors offered aid against the Turks in exchange for trial of the divorce in England,<sup>29</sup> Bonner did not act in the negotiations. Similarly the attempts to gain the support of certain cardinals for Henry VIII by bribery were handled by Benet and Sir Gregory Casale alone.<sup>30</sup>

The letters written by Edward Carne to England while Bonner was in Rome were in the newcomer's handwriting. Bonner was mainly occupied with secretarial work, for although he may have been present when Carne executed the king's instructions before the Rota and Consistory there is no hint that he undertook independent action. At the end of February 1532 Henry wrote to Carne and Bonner: they were to insist that Carne be allowed to plead the invalidity of the papal citation of the king to Rome. In this letter the "excusator" and his companion were given detailed instructions on how they were to behave if Carne were not admitted.<sup>31</sup>

The arguments before the ecclesiastical court, the Rota, and before the cardinals in Consistory turned on the question whether

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27. L.P., V.886, 941 (p.441).

28. L.P., V.971, 1291.

29. L.P., V.864, 1165, 1277.

30. L.P., V.777, 887, 891, 974, 1507.

31. L.P., V.836.

the king's letters to Carne for his admission as "excusator" were equal to a commission. At Carne's request the king supplied certain defects in the letters sent "for the prosecution of the matters excusatorie", but Carne managed to delay the production of the new letters until the middle of June.<sup>32</sup> During the spring and summer Carne submitted twenty-five conclusions on which he insisted argument should take place. By demanding also that the Cardinals as well as the Rota should discuss whether the excusator should be admitted without a mandate,<sup>33</sup> the English delayed the hearing of the principal cause until the beginning of the Curia's vacation in the middle of July. At the end of June it was decided in Consistory, as it had been by the Rota, that the king's letters to Carne were insufficient and that he should not be heard without a mandate or proxy. On 8 July the Pope decreed in consistory that Henry VIII should produce a mandate in the principal cause by October.<sup>34</sup> The Imperialists accused the English of fraudulently obtaining an extension of a month, for

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32. St.P., vii, pp.347-348 (L.P.V.797), ibid., p.351 (L.P., V.833); ibid., p.374 (L.P., V.1095).

33. G.Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, ed. N.Pocock, iv, 1865, pp.184-186 (L.P., V.972); L.P., V.866, 1070, St.P., vii, pp.372-373 (L.P., V.1095).

34. L.P., V.1151, Burnet, op.cit., p.187 (L.P., V.1171), Pocock, op.cit., p.293 (L.P., V.1172); ibid., p.280 (L.P., V.1157), L.P., V.1159.

in July they were convinced that the decree had cited Henry to appear before October. However, after the delay in the registration of the decree by the Datary, they found that he had until the beginning of November.<sup>35</sup> Although no mandate had been produced, no action was taken before the Pope left Rome on 18 November for his meeting with the Emperor at Bologna.<sup>36</sup>

Carne's arguments in the secondary cause of the admission of the excusator would have been brushed aside if the Pope had been determined to reach a settlement of the divorce. But Clement was not anxious to come to a decision which would offend either the Emperor or the kings of England and France, and he was willing enough to connive at the delays suggested by the English ambassadors. By the very nature of his task Carne could give the court no proof that the citation of Henry VIII to appear in Rome was invalid. But his arguments were clever and his tactics in preventing the Rota taking action in the principal cause, while the matter of the excusator was being discussed in Consistory, were skilful.<sup>37</sup> Bonner probably helped Carne in deciding the steps he should take,<sup>38</sup> but there is no evidence to show in what way Bonner gave advice or to what extent his actions

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35. L.P., V.1160, 1282, 1322, 1401. See also Benet's letter to Cranmer of 15 September: St.P., vii, pp.378-379 (L.P., V.1312).

36. L.P., V.1532, 1535, 1566.

37. L.P., V.835, 933, 934, 1024, 1109, 1200, 1201.

38. Carne took advice of the king's "learned counsel" in Rome: Burnet op.cit., p.184 (L.P., V.972); St.P., vii, p.373 (L.P., V.1095); Pocock, op.cit., pp.274, 293 (L.P., V.1126, 1172).

were heeded either by his colleagues or by their opponents.

When Benet left Rome in the Pope's train in November 1532 Bonner travelled with him and Carne was left behind. Although Benet wrote to Norfolk on 2 December that Bonner would leave for England within two or three days he was still at Bologna on 24 December. Bonner witnessed the Christmas celebrations of the Pope and the Emperor before he finally left for England on 8 January 1533.<sup>39</sup> He carried letters not only from the English ambassadors but also from Auxerre, the French ambassador in Rome, to Francis I and the papal legate in France.

Auxerre believed that Bonner was sent home because the Pope had found a new way to delay the progress of the divorce without prejudicing his authority.<sup>40</sup> Bonner may have returned with a proposal that the cause be remitted to "indifferent" judges sitting neither in England nor in Rome. In July 1531 Henry had vetoed the idea of an "indifferent" place, but in the following December he himself had suggested that Avignon would be suitable.<sup>41</sup> At the beginning of 1533 the Pope seems to have been willing to test the possibilities of this idea, and Bonner on his return to

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39. L.P., V.1601; P.R.O.: S.P.1/73, f.17 (noted in L.P., V.1689);

40. L.P., VI.26; P.R.O.: P.R.O.131/3/6, f.232.

41. L.P., V.327; Pocock, op.cit., p.150.



England told the king of Clement's conditions for a compromise.<sup>42</sup>

Five days before Bonner left the papal court the two French cardinals, Grammont and Tournon, arrived. When Henry and Francis met at Boulogne and Calais in October 1532 they had agreed that

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42. Sir Gregory Casale, who left Rome at the end of September 1532 (L.P., V.1364, see also Mantua, b.881, letters from the Cardinal of Mantua of 29 September, 19 October, 11 November and of Fabricio Peregrino of 9 October) for the meeting at Calais and Boulogne between Henry VIII and Francis I, was commissioned by Henry to persuade the Pope to "suspend...his resolution" until the Emperor's departure from Italy and to press the Cardinal of Ancona to obtain the admission of the excusator (L.P., V.1493). It is probable that, on his return to Rome, Sir Gregory suggested to the Pope that the cause be remitted to a "place indifferent" (St.P., vii, pp.447-448 (L.P., VI.225)). When, in January 1533, Henry heard Bonner's report of events in Rome and Bologna he denied that he had ever given commission to Sir Gregory, "or any other", to suggest such a compromise to the Pope (Pocock, op.cit., pp.434-435 (L.P., V.I.102)). It is thus unlikely that Henry's secret instructions to Benet, now lost, to which he referred in a letter to his ambassador of 18 November 1532 (B.M.: Add. Ms., 48044, ff.17-19) included a proposal that the case should be tried in Cambrai, or somewhere in France. Sir Gregory Casale may, on his own initiative, have proposed "an indifferent place" to the Pope, or he may have misunderstood his instructions. Henry was very irritated with Sir Gregory in the spring of 1533 (L.P., VI.102; ibid., 110; St.P., vii, pp.440-441 (L.P., VI.222) Clement certainly knew and possibly approved the scheme (St.P., vii, p.412 (L.P., VI.101)), and Ubaldini, the Nuncio in England, was trying to negotiate it at the end of January (L.P., VI.89). It has been argued (see A.F.Pollard, Henry VIII, 1951, p.238, and also Bourrilly, op.cit., p.282) that, in January 1533, Henry was willing to pretend to make concessions to the Pope in order to expedite Cranmer's bulls but this theory is not altogether watertight. Not only is it unlikely that the initiative at this time for the suggestion that the case should be tried at a "place indifferent" came from the king, but Bonner wrote on 31 January (St.P., vii, p.412 (L.P., VI.101)) of the king's desire to have the cause remitted to England, and Henry himself in his instructions to his ambassadors commanded them to tell the Pope that the divorce should be settled in England (Pocock, op.cit., p.438 (L.P., VI.102)).

these cardinals should go to the Pope and, emphasizing the complete amity of the Kings, exert French pressure on the Pope to gain Henry's divorce.<sup>43</sup> Although Bonner would have been able to report the preliminary interviews of the two Cardinals with the Pope and the Emperor he cannot have been sent to England expressly for this purpose, since the main negotiations took place after he left.<sup>44</sup> From Auxerre's letters and from Benet's letter to Norfolk in the previous month, it is clear that Bonner was not recalled from England but was sent home by the English ambassadors with the Pope.

Having stopped at Lyons and Paris on his way, Bonner arrived in England on 24 January<sup>45</sup> to find that the situation had altered completely. Anne Boleyn was pregnant.<sup>46</sup> Bonner had an interview with the king on the morning of 25 January, the same day on which the king and Anne Boleyn were secretly married.<sup>47</sup> From

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43. Instructions from Francis I to the two cardinals on 13 November 1532: L.P., V.1541.

44. L.P., VI.38, 64, 92; B.M.: Add.Ms., 48044, ff.21-24: Memorandum of what the two cardinals said to the Pope, containing a note on the full co-operation between the cardinals and Benet and Sir Gregory Casale.

45. L.P., VI.101; Ven.Cal., iv.847.

46. It is difficult to discount the suggestion that it was the fact of the pregnancy which hastened the marriage, although it is possible that at the end of January Henry and Anne were not yet certain of her condition. Prof. Pollard believed that Henry VIII and Anne were convinced of the pregnancy by the end of January: Pollard, op.cit., p.295. See also Elton, England... op.cit., p.132.

47. St.P., vii, p.410 (L.P., VI.101). For the date of the marriage see L.P., VI.661, 180, 351, 465 and P.Friedmann, Anne Boleyn a Chapter of English History 1527-1536, ii, 1884, pp.338-339 and also J.Gairdner's introduction to L.P., vi, at p.xxii. Gairdner believed that it was highly improbable that the marriage took place in November 1532 as had been rumoured at that time. For

now on Henry VIII was determined that, whatever action the Pope might or might not take, his child would be born legitimate according to English law.<sup>48</sup> The English ambassadors continued to press Henry's case in Rome until July, but although the King still had some hope of forcing Clement to decide in his favour, from January 1533 an alternative and decisive policy was being pursued in England.

Within three weeks Bonner was on his way back to Rome.<sup>49</sup> Chapuys reported that he should have left earlier but had been delayed by the discovery of a document, which, it was said, gave irrefutable proof of the consummation of the marriage of Katharine and Prince Arthur. On 31 January Bonner wrote to Benet "notwithstanding that I have had as yet but litle tyme here, yet I have seen and perceyved diverse thinges, whiche befor I never sawe nor hard of, towching whether the Quene be cognita or not cognita".<sup>50</sup>

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47 (cont.) such a rumour see, for instance, letter from the Cardinal of Mantua to the Castellan of Mantua, 11 November 1532: Mantua, b.881.

48. Henry's anxiety that the Pope should be able to do nothing to disturb the inheritance of his child was expressed to the French ambassador in England in May 1533: L.P., VI.524, P.R.O.: P.R.O.31/3/6, ff.288f.-g., but it had motivated his actions from the beginning of the year.

49. On 10 February the Venetian ambassador in England reported that Bonner was being sent back to Bologna: Ven.Cal., iv, 850. Bonner's safe-conduct was dated 12 February: L.P., VI.151. On the evening of the following day he was at Dover and reached Calais after a long and painful Channel crossing on the morning of Friday, 14 February: L.P., VI.158.

50. L.P., VI.160; St.P., vii, p.413 (L.P., VI.101).

The newly discovered document, which had not previously been cited in any of the divorce proceedings,<sup>51</sup> was the treaty of 1503 between Henry VII and Ferdinand and Isabella for the marriage of Prince Henry and Katharine. In this treaty the marriage of Katharine and Arthur was described as "solemnizatum et postea fuerat consummatum".<sup>52</sup> Bonner sent Benet long quotations from the treaty which the ambassador was to use in his arguments at Rome.<sup>53</sup> At about the same time the king wrote to his ambassadors ordering them to show this treaty to the Pope, and urging that once again they should endeavour to persuade him to remit the case for trial in England.<sup>54</sup>

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51. No mention was made of the treaty in the proceedings of the legatine court in 1529, nor in any of the depositions of certain English nobles about the consummation of Katharine's first marriage: L.P., IV (iii).6538, 6662, 6765, L.P., V.39, 258, 362, 485. The memorandum, included in the Calendar at September 1530, of points which were to be sent to the Imperial ambassador in Rome and which mentioned the treaty of 1503, was not dated: L.P., IV(iii).6655. There is no evidence that the treaty was sent to the ambassador, and it was not quoted in the negotiations in Rome between 1530 and 1532. See for instance: L.P., IV(iii).6205, (p.2784), 6324, 6437, 6452, 6462, 6705, 6769, L.P., V.39, 68, 101, St.P., vii, pp.287-288 (L.P., V.122), L.P., V.137, 491, 516, 580, 731, 892, 1171, 1201, 1532.
52. T.Rymer, Feodera, V (iv), 1741, p.204. This passage was quoted by Bonner in his letter to Benet: St.P., vii, p.413 (L.P., VI.101).
53. St.P., vii, pp.413-415 (L.P., VI.101). The treaty was produced before the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Bath and Wells on 12 February 1533, the day on which Bonner's safe-conduct was issued: L.P., VI.152.
54. Pocock, op.cit., pp.434-441 (L.P., VI.102). This letter was also printed in Burnet, op.cit., pp.69-76. See also L.P., VI.194.

In England, Bonner wrote, men were "moche persuaded" that the consummation of Katherine's first marriage was the crucial point in the case.<sup>55</sup> But proof of consummation would not necessarily have won a papal sentence in Henry's favour. In the bull of dispensation issued by Julius II for the marriage of Katharine and Henry the consummation was regarded as a fact. It could not be argued that the dispensation had been issued in ignorance of the true facts of Katharine's first marriage.<sup>56</sup> In his letter to his ambassadors in Rome in January 1533 Henry wrote that, since Katharine had consummated her first marriage, the dispensation for her marriage to her deceased husband's brother would be valid only if there had been "urgent cause" for such a second marriage. Referring to the treaty of 1503 he vigorously

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55. St.P., vii, p.412 (L.P., VI.101).

56. See the three articles by Dr. Gairdner on the history of the divorce up to 1529: J. Gairdner, "New Lights on the Divorce of Henry VIII", i, E.H.R., xi, 1896, pp.673-702; ii, E.H.R., xxii, 1897, pp.1-16 and iii, E.H.R., xii, 1897, pp.237-253. The brief was produced by Katherine when the legate Campeggio arrived in England in November 1528: ibid., ii, p.237. The Rev. H. Thurston argued that even the bull was, in canon law, a valid dispensation for a second marriage when the first had been consummated, since it was issued to remove the impediment of affinity, and "that from a marriage that was merely ratum and not consummatum the impediment of of affinity did not result"; H. Thurston, "The Canon Law of the Divorce", E.H.R., xix, 1904, p.635. Henry VIII's letter to Carne and Bonner, probably written in February 1532 supports this argument: St.P., vii, pp.359-360 (L.P., V.836, p.396).

denied that there had been urgent cause.<sup>57</sup> In his letter to Benet, Bonner also wrote "that to dispense in this behalf, there was not "urgentissima causa", ne yet "urgens"". Six months later Bonner seems to have become a little confused by the complexities of the arguments. He wrote to the king from Rome that the Pope might pretend that Katharine "was not carnally knowen by Prince Arthur...and thereapon...will pronownce the dispensation valeable".<sup>58</sup>

At the beginning of 1533 Henry VIII was still hoping that the Pope would remit the case to England. But his letters were growing more threatening in tone. Bonner's instructions dealt with the actions the ambassadors were to take if the Pope did not admit the excusator or agree that the case should be tried in England. At the end of February Henry wrote to Benet that he would not be "continually vexed with the excessive preeminence" of the Pope's authority.<sup>59</sup> Henry was preparing the way for his

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57. Pocock, op.cit., p.440 (L.P., VI.102). The question whether or not there had been "urgent cause" for Katharine's second marriage had been raised before January 1533. See the comments made by the Imperial ambassador in Rome in August 1530 on the decision of the university of Paris: L.P., IV (iii).6550, and his letters of 20 January 1531, 12 and 27 September 1531: L.P., V.57, 421, 436. See also L.P., V.467(ii).

58. St.P., vii, p.414 (L.P., VI.101); St.P., vii, p.467 (L.P., VI.637). It is possible that Bonner's letter reflects a confusion not in his own mind, but in the Pope's mind. Clement VII was not a canon lawyer: see P.Hughes, The Reformation in England, i, 1950, p.175 note, and L.P., V.1242.

59. St.P., vii, p.418 (L.P., VI.194). The instructions given to Bonner on his return to Rome are missing, but it is possible to judge their contents from this letter of the king to Benet.

denial of the Pope's right to grant dispensations in certain cases. In April 1533 Convocation of Canterbury<sup>60</sup> determined that the Pope could not grant a dispensation of divine law. It was contrary to divine law for a woman to marry her husband's brother<sup>61</sup> when her first marriage had been consummated.<sup>62</sup> The consummation of Katharine's first marriage was not the decisive issue to the canon lawyers in Rome, but it was an essential part of the new policy being pursued in England.

Bonner was not sent to Rome simply to show the Pope new evidence of the consummation of Katharine's first marriage. There was a more urgent reason for his return. On 31 January he wrote to Benet that "my lord Electe of Canterburye, Mr. Doctour Cranmar, a man, as ye knowe, of singuler good lernyng, vertue and all good partes" was sending for the papal bulls which he needed to obtain possession of his see. Bonner said it would be a good

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60. Pocock, op.cit., p.448 (L.P., VI.311).

61. Soon after his arrival in Rome at the beginning of 1531, the Imperial lawyer, Ortiz, was most anxious that the Roman courts should decree whether marriage to a deceased husband's brother was a question of divine law or of canon law. In his letters during 1531 Ortiz reiterated his argument that the affinity between Henry and Katharine was prohibited solely by canon law: see his letters of 9 February, 11 and 23 April and 24 October 1531: L.P., V.91, 188, 207, 492. His opinion was similar to that of some of the universities, such as Alcala, who declared that since the marriage to a deceased husband's brother was not contrary to divine law, the Pope could dispense: L.P., IV(iii).6548.

62. D.Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, iii, 1737, p.756 (L.P., VI.317).

thing if he were favourably treated "especially concernyng the Annates, and charges of his bulles". In Bonner's opinion the Act of Annates of 1532, which was only stayed through the king's goodness, would be fully executed if Cranmer's bulls were not forthcoming. Bonner emphasized the importance of the bulls being sent quickly "whiche matter I pray you take not for a fraske or bragge, ne to be written by me without great apparaunce or cause; for I assure you, beyond your expectation and myne, and contrarie to the same, diverse thinges is taken".<sup>63</sup> Benet and his colleagues acted quickly and forcefully in the matter of the bulls. Although on 11 March the English ambassadors were in "evident perill and feare" that the bulls would be refused, on 25 March, despite the warnings sent to the Pope by Chapuys and Nuncio, the bulls arrived in England.<sup>64</sup> The way was open for Cranmer's consecration, and the establishment of his archiepiscopal court at Dunstable where the bull of Julius II granting a dispensation for the marriage of Katharine and Henry was declared invalid. If the English ambassadors in Rome had not obtained Cranmer's bulls quickly the divorce could not have been pronounced at Dunstable with such semblance of legality.

Bonner took with him letters from the King to Ghinucci,  
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63. St.P., vii, pp.411-412 (L.P., VI.101).

64. St.P., vii, p.443 (L.P., VI.226); L.P., VI.142, 296.



Benet and Casale and also to Nicholas Hawkins, the English ambassador with the Emperor, whose friendship he had already gained when they had met at Bologna before Christmas.<sup>65</sup> After Bonner's return to the papal court on 27 February he began once again to write letters for Benet and Carne.<sup>66</sup> During 1533 however he was no longer only a secretary: he acted with the other ambassadors. Within a fortnight of his return he accompanied Benet and Ghinucci to the Pope on two occasions. They tried to discover what Sir Gregory Casale had said in his conversations with the Pope after his return from the meetings between Henry and Francis in the previous October. They were anxious to know whether Casale had altered the king's demand for the remission of the cause to England, to remission of the cause to a "place indifferent".<sup>67</sup> Bonner also accompanied the other English ambassadors and Cardinal Tournon to the Pope when they delivered

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65. St.P., vii, p.441 (L.P., VI.226); L.P., VI.206. For Bonner's friendship with Hawkins see L.P., V.1660, 1661.
66. Bonner arrived on 27 February very early in the morning: St.P., vii, p.441 (L.P., VI.226). Of the seven letters written by the ambassadors to Henry VIII after Bonner's return, six are in Bonner's hand: L.P., VI.225, 226, 446, 506, 548, 643, and L.P., VI.227. Bonner did not write the letters from Benet or Carne to Cromwell, but he wrote the letter from himself and Carne to Cromwell of 28 September: L.P., VI.501, 549, 644, 809, 1165. In this secretarial work Bonner may have acted simply as a copyist; in the one case where a draft survives, it is in Benet's hand: L.P., VI.643 (2).
67. St.P., vii, p.448 (L.P., VI.225). Sir Gregory Casale protested that he had only carried out the king's instructions: ibid., pp.440-441 (L.P., VI.222). See above, note 42, p.92.

Henry's letters to him. With the other ambassadors Bonner tried to persuade the Pope that he could preserve his jurisdiction if the case was tried in England. The Pope however would give "noo determinat answer".<sup>68</sup>

In the middle of March the ambassadors followed the Pope from Bologna to Rome, and during April they attempted to secure the revocation of the brief Clement had issued in the previous November. Clement had warned Henry on pain of excommunication to go back to Katharine until a papal sentence had been given. The brief had been sent from Rome on 19 December, and was published in the Netherlands during January 1533.<sup>69</sup> On 4 May Bonner wrote to Cromwell detailing some of the errors which the English ambassadors had found in the brief. Carne and Bonner wrote to the king on the following day that the errors in the brief were such that it "could not in law be justified and maintained". Chapuys himself had remarked in January that the brief was imprecise and no more forceful than the briefs issued by Clement in 1530 and 1531. On 4 May Bonner wrote that he and Carne had no idea what the Pope would decree,<sup>70</sup> for he continued to delay.

68. St.P., vii, p.446 (L.P., VI.226).

69. Clement left Bologna on 19 March but the ambassadors were still there on the following day: ibid., p.447; L.P., VI.365; L.P., V.1545; L.P., V.1642; Pocock, op.cit., p.384; L.P., VI.89, 142.

70. St.P., vii, pp.454-455 (L.P., VI.438); Pocock, op.cit., p.471 L.P., VI.445); L.P., VI.89.

By 30 April Clement had learned of the marriage of Henry and Anne, and he found it difficult to resist the argument of the Imperialists that an immediate sentence be given in the principal cause.<sup>71</sup> Before 18 May Ghinucci and Benet were given the Pope's citation for Henry VIII to appear in Rome. Although the Pope secretly promised Benet that he would not excommunicate Henry he would not stop the process of the cause.<sup>72</sup>

By the middle of June the situation in Rome had become more difficult: at the end of May the Pope had heard of Cranmer's decisions at Dunstable. Francis' request that Clement should take no new steps in Henry's case until after the meeting which had been arranged between the Pope and the French King only increased the Pope's anger.<sup>73</sup> The usurpation of his unique authority by Cranmer was a much more serious matter to the Pope than the king's marriage to Anne. Clement VII was determined to delay no longer.

On 13 June Bonner wrote a worried letter to the king. The excusator had been rejected, and Bonner was afraid that the Imperialists would force Clement to declare valid the dispensation for the marriage of Henry VIII and Katharine. Bonner tried to

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71: Ven.Cal., iv.881; L.P., VI.454; L.P., VI.466, 522, 542.

72: L.P., VI.506.

73: L.P., VI.643.

inject a cheerful note into his letter, declaring "I doo veryly beleve that the Pope will not giff ony sentence afor the vacanties here", and in the meanwhile he would do everything in his power to execute the King's pleasure.<sup>74</sup> On the following day Bonner wrote to Cromwell in a more optimistic vein, which had probably been induced by his interview with Clement on 13 June. This interview, which is the first Bonner is known to have had alone with the Pope, probably took place after he had written to the king. Although Clement's intentions had become firmer he had no wish to tell the English ambassadors of his decisions, and he repeated once more to Bonner that he would do his best for the king. Binner declared to Cromwell in his letter of 14 June that the rejection of the excusator was only pretence, and he said that nothing of importance had been done in the principal cause. On 14 June Benet wrote to the king that the Pope would "conserve the cause in the state whiche now it is in", and on the same day Carne wrote to Cromwell that he had no news to tell him.<sup>75</sup> Bonner was not alone in his misunderstanding of the situation in Rome.

Although there was some sign at the end of June that the Pope might delay the cause until the vacation,<sup>76</sup> on 11 July he

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74. St.P., vii, p.467 (L.P., VI.637).

75. P.R.O.: S.P.1/77, f.33 (L.P., VI.642); St.P., vii, p.472 (L.P., VI.643); P.R.O.: S.P.1/77, f.43 (L.P., VI.644).

76. L.P., VI.699. On 30 June Davalos wrote to the emperor that sentence would be given before the vacation: L.P., VI.775.

gave sentence in Consistory against the King in the principal cause.<sup>77</sup> Carne protested to Cromwell that Ghinucci, Benet, Bonner and he had done "(as much as might) be spoken or done without any (respect, but only), to the furtherance of the King's hyg(hness cause and) right". Not only had the English ambassadors been to the Cardinals, pressing on them once again the evidence which Bonner and Carne had collected, but they had done all they could to prevent the declaration of the sentence.<sup>78</sup> Both the English and the French ambassadors had hoped that the Pope would not allow the sentence to be passed until after the interview between Francis and Clement had taken place. Bonner expressed his astonishment that the Pope had acted in this way, declaring to Cromwell "God knoweth, we have fewe frendes here, etiam in justicia". He obtained a copy of the papal decree which he sent to Cromwell that the latter might see how "naughtily and unkindly" the Pope had used the king.<sup>79</sup>

At the beginning of June Henry VIII heard that preparations were being made in the principal cause, despite the Pope's alleged promise not to give sentence until after his interview with Francis. By the end of June Henry had learnt of the refusal

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77. Ehses, op.cit., p.227; L.P., VI.807; Ven.Cal., iv, 945.

78. L.P., VI.809, from a very mutilated Ms. at B.M.: Cotton, Vitellius. B. xiv, f.44. The words in brackets were supplied by the Editor of L.P., partly from a modern copy of a portion of the letter in B.M.: Add.Ms. 29547, f.1.

79. L.P., VI.773; St.P., vii, p.481 (L.P., VI.810); mutilated letter from Bonner to Cromwell of 24 July 1533: L.P., VI.888.

to admit the excusator. His anger was aroused and on 29 June he drew up his appeal to a future General Council in case he should be excommunicated by the Pope because of his divorce from Katharine.<sup>80</sup> He was not yet prepared to put this appeal into execution, for at about the same time he sent new instructions to Bonner, charging him "continually to exclaim upon Him (i.e. the Pope) for the admission of our Excusatour". Bonner's letter of 13 June and his letter to Norfolk of 19 June may well have disturbed the king's confidence in his ambassador's courage, for Henry charged him to execute his instructions "casting utterly awaye and banishing from youe suche feare and tymorousnes, or rather dispair, as by your said letters We perceyve ye have conceyved".<sup>81</sup>

When Henry heard of the Pope's sentence of 13 July he gave up all pretence and ordered his ambassadors to leave Rome. The Englishmen received this command on 12 August and probably left within ten days.<sup>82</sup> Before their departure they either obtained or were granted indulgences, called confessionales, from the Pope. In virtue of these Benet, Carne and Bonner were enabled to have

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80. L.P., VI.614, 723, 721.

81. These instructions are missing but their content is hinted at in the covering letter which survives: St.P., vii, p.485 (L.P., VI.806). Bonner's letter to Norfolk is missing but was referred to in Henry's letter to Bonner: ibid., p.484.

82. L.P., VI.979, 980; Ven.Cal., iv, 967, 968. The Milanese ambassador in Rome said that Benet and Carne left on 22 August: Calendar of State Papers, Milan, 1385-1618, ed. A.B.Hinds, 1912, p.562.

mass celebrated four times during their lives, even if England lay under an Apostolic interdict. Twelve people named by Bonner were to have this privilege once during their lives.<sup>83</sup>

Bonner and Carne were delayed in their return to England by the illness and death of Benet. He had an "ague" and died at Susa in Piedmont on 26 September.<sup>84</sup> For three weeks Bonner and Carne remained at Susa, preventing with great difficulty the sequestration of Benet's goods by the Duke of Savoy, who, having married a niece of Katharine of Aragon, was ill-disposed towards Henry.<sup>85</sup> The Duke claimed a privilege to view the property of all strangers who died within his realm. Claiming diplomatic immunity and declaring that in any case Benet's steward, Edward Mowle,<sup>86</sup> who had the keys of his master's rooms was "soore seke", Bonner refused to allow the Duke's servant to make an inventory of Benet's goods. The Duke's gentleman was so incensed when

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83. P.R.O.: P.R.O.31/9/2 (unpaginated), (L.P., VI. App.6). Between 1529 and 1533 a large number of privileges or indulgences which enabled the recipients to be absolved from ordinary excommunication, to have a portable altar, and so on, were granted to Englishmen. Although these privileges largely followed common form, it was unusual for such indulgences to be made operative in the case of an Apostolic interdict. I am grateful to Dr. J.J.Scarisbrick for this information.

84. L.P., VI.1358, 1156.

85. L.P., VI.720, p.318.

86. L.P., VII.306. For Mowle, one of Bonner's officials in the diocese of London, see below, chap.10, p.341.

Bonner "somewhat withstode his desire" that he broke into Bonner's room by force and made an inventory thinking the goods there were Benet's. After Bonner and Carne had complained to the Duke, they managed to preserve Benet's goods, which Carne took back to England for Benet's uncle.<sup>87</sup>

When, on 12 October,<sup>88</sup> Bonner and Carne were travelling from Susa, they met the king's messenger with letters for them, and acting upon them hurried on to Lyons. There Bonner found a letter from the king dated 9 August. In accordance with his two sets of instructions, on 16 October Bonner set out for Avignon leaving Carne to travel alone to England. The Pope and Francis I were meeting at Marseilles and Bonner was instructed to go there to intimate to the Pope Henry's appeal to a future General Council. He was to take the advice of Henry's ambassadors to Francis I, Gardiner, Wallop and Brian, before he acted.<sup>89</sup>

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87. St.P., vii, pp.513-514 (L.P., VI.1300). Benet's uncle was a certain John Benet, a tailor of London: L.P., V.318.

88. L.P., VI.1317.

89. In his letter to the king of 16 October Bonner said that the king's letter was dated 9 August: St.P., vii, p.515 (L.P., VI.300), but on 13 November Bonner said the king's letter was dated 10 August: Burnet, op.cit., vi, p.66 (L.P., VI.1425). There is an undated mutilated draft of Bonner's instructions in B.M.: Cotton, Vitell. B. xiv, f.54 (L.P., VI.1424) and instructions dated 18 August were printed by Strype: J.Strype, Memorials of...Thomas Cranmer, ii, 1840, pp.682-683 (L.P., VI.998). It is possible that Bonner found at Lyons the commission under the king's "private seal" accompanied by a letter of 9 and/or 10 August, and that "the other commission, accompanied by the letter of 18 August arrived only after 7 November. Bonner referred to both commissions in his conversations with the Pope: Burnet, op.cit., p.60 (L.P., VI.1425).



Bonner arrived in Marseilles at the beginning of November, almost three weeks after Clement's magnificent entry into the town.<sup>90</sup> Francis and Clement had arranged the marriage of Francis' second son, the Duke of Orleans, and the Pope's niece, Catharine de Medici, and Francis had also made great efforts with the Pope to secure the prorogation of the Pope's sentence against Henry.<sup>91</sup> At the end of September Cardinal Tournon had persuaded the Pope to suspend the sentence for a month beyond its term of the end of October.<sup>92</sup> Francis now asked for a further suspension of six months.

On 5 or 6 November Bonner discussed with Gardiner and the other English ambassadors in Marseilles how he should carry out his instructions. The king had sent a commission to his ambassadors with the French king that they should "intimate the Kinges appeale at this diett", and it is possible that Gardiner had already done so.<sup>93</sup> But the ambassadors were not anxious to help Bonner carry out his commission. Although they ordered him to

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90. For the Pope's entry into Marseilles see L.P., VI.1280, and V.L. Bourrilley and F.Vindrey, eds., Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay, Société de l'Histoire de France, II, 1910, pp.226-231, and B.M.: Harleian Ms.7016, ff.64-65.

91. L.P., VI.1403, and also L.P., VI.1426, 1427.

92. L.P., VI.1163, 1166.

93. L.P., VI.1071; Burnet, op.cit., vi, p.63 (L.P., VI.1425). Bonner's letter does not say clearly whether Gardiner had already appealed to a General Council, but unless, as is not very probable, the king had himself read the appeals out loud in Gardiner's presence, Bonner's letter implied that Gardiner had made the appeals to the Pope.

make the appeal to the Pope in person<sup>94</sup> they did not offer to go with him.

On 7 November Bonner took William Penyston, another Italian in Henry's service, and went to the Pope's palace. There he found the Datary and secured an interview with the Pope. Clement had a Consistory in the morning but agreed to give Bonner an audience in the afternoon. When Bonner returned he was kept waiting for some time before he could speak with the Pope. When Clement saw that Bonner had Penyston with him for a witness he summoned the Datary and two others that he also might have witnesses of what passed between him and the English ambassador. Bonner complained first of the Pope's treatment of his king's cause, and then showed the Pope his commission in which Henry appealed to a General Council. The Datary read the king's appeal and at each clause the Pope interrupted and complained in Italian. Although he tried to hide his anger from Bonner, the latter was not deceived, for the Pope "was continually folding up and unwinding of his handkerchief, which he never doth but when he is tickled to the very heart with great choler".

The Datary was interrupted in his reading by the arrival of Francis I, who probably came to visit the Pope in order to discover what Bonner's commission was. After three-quarters of an hour Francis departed and the Datary was able to finish reading

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94. Burnet, op.cit., vi, p.56 (L.P., VI.1425).

Henry's appeals. It was not until eight o'clock in the evening that Bonner left the Pope. On the afternoon of the following Monday, 10 November, Bonner went again into the Pope's presence to read Henry's appeal to a General Council to the cardinals in Consistory and to hear Clement's answer. Clement rejected Henry's appeals, saying that they were "frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful", since there was a constitution of Pope Pius against them. He declared that it was for the Pope and not the king to summon a General Council. Bonner tried to procure a written copy of the Pope's answer but the copy he was given "was not touching so many things as the pope had by mouth afore declared unto me, ne yet subscribed with the datary's hand, according to the accustomed manner". On the following day, 11 November, Bonner was able to procure a copy signed by the Datary but no more complete than the one he had been originally offered. On 12 November Clement left Marseilles to return to Rome. Although Henry in his letters to Bonner of 10 August had told him to follow the Pope, he returned to England on 13 November, believing that the king would not wish him to pursue the enterprise further.<sup>95</sup> It is possible that he returned to the Pope a third time in order to intimate Cranmer's appeal to a General Council. Cranmer's letter to Bonner ordering him to do this was not written

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95. For Bonner's actions at Marseilles see his letter to Henry VIII of 13 November: Burnet, op.cit., vi, pp.56-67, esp. pp.61, 63, 65 (L.P., VI.1425).

until 22 November.<sup>96</sup>

Friedmann believed that Bonner was chosen to intimate Henry's appeal because he was an essentially coarse and violent man who delighted in showing rudeness to the Pope. Froude wrote that Bonner's downright honesty combined with an entire insensibility to those "finer perceptions which would have interfered with plain speaking when plain speaking was desirable" made him a suitable choice for this task.<sup>97</sup>

Bonner was one of the three Englishmen appointed as Henry's ambassadors to the Pope. During 1533 the king seems to have sent his instructions to Bonner rather than to Carne or Benet. The chance of Bonner's arrival in England on 24 January 1533, when great decisions were being made, had brought him closer to the secret policy of the king during 1533 than either of his two colleagues. It is possible that Benet and Bonner had been instructed to go together to Marseilles and that Benet's death left Bonner to carry out the king's plan alone. The delay of three weeks at Susa and the fact that the king's instructions of 9 and 10 August were not received until the middle of October may have altered the execution of English policy from its original form. Henry may well have wished the appeal to be made before

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96. ibid., p.68 (L.P., VI.1454).

97. Friedmann, op.cit., i, p.227; J.A.Froude, History of England, ii, 1872, p.31.

Clement and Francis began their discussions.<sup>98</sup> Nor was the decision to give the appeal to the Pope in person Bonner's alone: Gardiner and the other ambassadors accredited to Francis made that decision. In 1538 Bonner complained not only of Gardiner's treatment of him at Rouen in 1532 but also of the way he had behaved to him in Marseilles.<sup>99</sup> Bonner may have wanted one of the other ambassadors to accompany him to the Pope, or he may have thought that it was unnecessary for the appeal to be intimated to the Pope in person. Gardiner may have forced Bonner against his will to undertake the execution of the appeal alone, with only Penyston as a witness.

The choice of Bonner to take the appeal to Marseilles must be seen in relation to his conduct during 1532 and 1533. He had shown himself to be useful and intelligent. Far from being arrogant he had had to be rebuked by the king for timidity. On 13 November Bonner wrote to the king of the "perplexity and anxiety of mind I was in until that this intimation was made".<sup>100</sup> During 1533 a larger part of the negotiations in Rome had been done by Bonner than by either Carne or Benet, and it was a sign

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98. Dr. Gairdner believed that it was a "gross violation of diplomatic courtesy to thrust such an appeal upon the pope when he was the guest of a friendly sovereign", but the fact of the delay may have altered Henry's intention: J.Gairdner, The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, 1902, p.143.

99. Foxe, loc.cit.

100. Burnet, op.cit., p.67 (L.P., VI.1425).

of the king's growing regard for Bonner's ability that he should have commissioned him to make this appeal. In 1532 and 1533 Bonner found the king's policy surprising but not impossible to pursue.

## Chapter 5.

### Bonner's embassy to Denmark and Hamburg, 1535-1536.

Henry VIII's interest in Lübeck and Denmark was aroused after the death, on 10 April 1533, of King Frederick of Denmark. Lübeck, under its democratic burgomaster Jürgen Wullenwever, had intensified its commercial rivalry with the Netherlands, and the confusion arising after Frederick's death seemed to provide an opportunity for the Hanse town to gain control of Denmark and of the Baltic trade at the expense of the Dutch.<sup>1</sup> When, in September 1533, the Duke of Holstein, the eldest son of Frederick I, signed a commercial treaty with Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands for her brother, Charles V,<sup>2</sup> Lübeck's whole endeavour was turned to opposing him, and establishing on the throne of Denmark a prince more favourable to her commercial aspirations. Lübeck's intentions did not waver even though the invasion of Denmark in 1534 by armies collected by the Hanse town and led

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1. G.Waitz, Lübeck unter Jürgen Wullenwever, i, 1855, p.189. Wullenwever was elected to the Rath of Lübeck on 21 February 1533 and on 8 May was named burgomaster: see K. von Schlözer, Verfall und Untergang der Hansa und des deutschen Ordens in den Osteeländern, 1853, p.189.
  2. K.Brandi, Kaiser Karl V, i, 1937, p.303; R.Häpke, Die Regierung Karls V und der europäische Norden, Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck. Herausgegeben vom Staatsarchiv zu Lübeck, iii, 1914, pp.175-179. The treaty of Ghent is printed in C.Paludan-Müller, Aktstykker til Nordens Historie i Grevefeidens Tid, i, 1852, pp.10-21.

by the adventurer, Count Christopher of Oldenburg, was inconclusive and resulted in the election by the Council of Denmark of the Duke of Holstein as king.<sup>3</sup>

In 1534 and 1535 Lübeck was the nominal supporter of King Christiern II, the king who had been driven from Denmark by Frederick I and whose attempt to regain his throne had resulted in his imprisonment in Denmark. Lübeck had also allied herself with Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg, on the understanding that Albert should succeed Christiern II on the Danish throne.<sup>4</sup>

Imperial policy in the Danish election was confused. Despite the treaty with the Duke of Holstein and the promised loan of 22,000 florins,<sup>5</sup> the regent and the emperor could not give him full support. Christian of Holstein was, like his father, a Lutheran. Charles V also had the interests of his own family to watch since Christiern II had married one of his sisters. The emperor was not prepared to support Christiern II, for the latter's

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3. For the campaign in Denmark in 1534 see C.E.Hill, The Danish Sound Dues and the Command of the Baltic, 1926, pp.52-3; F. v. Alten, Graf Christoff von Oldenburg und die Grafenfehde (1534-1536), 1853, esp. pp.118-194. The Duke of Holstein was elected King of Denmark on 19 August 1534.
  4. G.Wentz, "Der Principat Jürgen Wullenwevers und die wendischen Städte," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, lvi, 1931, p.95. The agreement between Wullenwever and Albert of Mecklenburg is referred to in the articles proposed to Henry VIII by Wullenwever: L.P., VIII, 1162.(ii).
  5. Vienna; Belgica, P.C. 6(ii) f.4. The Duke of Holstein sent his secretary Frans Trebbow to Brussels in July 1535 to ask for the 16,000 florins of the loan which he had not yet received: Vienna, Belgica, P.C. 6(i) ff.66-7.



ignominious reign gave little reassurance for the future; but in order to bring Denmark within the Habsburg policy Charles was willing to support the claims of one of Christiern's daughters to the throne.

Accordingly, in September 1535, after much negotiation,<sup>6</sup> Christiern's fourteen-year-old younger daughter, Dorothea, was married to the 53-year-old Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria,<sup>7</sup> who became the Imperial nominee to the Danish throne. The Imperial attitude was expressed in a letter from Mary of Hungary to Frederick on 4 November 1535. She declared that the agreement with the Duke of Holstein had been in no way to the prejudice of her niece, and had been made only to ensure the continuance of trade.<sup>8</sup> During the autumn of 1535 negotiations were continuing for an Imperial subsidy to the Count Palatine.<sup>9</sup> But the Imperialists paid no attention to the strength of the Duke of Holstein, who, at that moment, was

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6. In January 1535 Nicholas de Gilley, the Imperial ambassador in Switzerland went to Italy and Germany to discuss plans for the marriage; K.Lanz, Staatspapiere zur Geschichte des Kaisers Karl V, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, xi, 1845, pp.166-178.
7. Brandi, op.cit., i, p.303. On 21 May 1535 Frederick told Francis I of his proposal to the Emperor's niece: Vienna, Belgica, P.A.31, f.114.
8. Vienna, Belgica, P.A.31, f.267v.
9. Meeting of Cornelius Scepperus with the deputies of the Count Palatine, 4 September 1535: Vienna, Belgica, P.C. 6(11), ff.43-44; Charles to the regent, 22 October 1535: Vienna, Belgica, P.A.31, f.236v.

besieging Copenhagen. It was unrealistic to imagine that either the Duke of Holstein or Albert of Mecklenburg would obey the emperor's or Count Frederick's wishes and co-operate in the establishment of Count Frederick.<sup>10</sup> Imperial support of Frederick was too late and too inadequate to alter the situation in Denmark.

Imperial policy largely determined English action. Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador in England, reported on 5 October 1533 that as soon as Henry heard that there was some probability of Christian of Holstein's making an alliance with the emperor he determined to send Dr. Thomas Legh to Denmark. Although Legh's mission was postponed for some months,<sup>11</sup> it was only a few weeks later that Henry VIII and Cromwell began to fête and honour the Lübeck sea-captain, Marcus Meyer. In the same way, Imperial support of the Count Palatine was regarded by Chapuys as the reason for Bonner's mission in the summer of 1535.<sup>12</sup>

It is difficult to determine whether English enthusiasm for intervention in the affairs of Denmark and Lübeck stemmed from Henry VIII or from Cromwell. The fact that Bonner, who

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10. Charles V. to the Duke of Holstein, 7 December 1534; Vienna, Belgica, P.C. 6(ii), f.49. Charles V to the Duke of Mecklenburg, 7 December, 1535, K.Lanz, Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V, ii, 1845, p.208; Frederick to the Duke of Holstein: 30 September 1535: L.P., IX,494.

11. L.P., VI.1222, 1249.

12. L.P., IX.1510; L.P., VIII.1018.

was already closely associated with the minister,<sup>13</sup> was sent to Germany in 1535 despite his lack of any previous experience in Anglo-Lübeck relations may perhaps indicate that Cromwell had a particular interest in these negotiations. Bonner and his colleague Cavendish wrote reports to the king and to Cromwell. When they wrote to the king they usually wrote a covering letter to Cromwell. Twice they wrote to the king without writing to the minister, but there have survived five letters to Cromwell from the ambassadors for which no corresponding letters to the king have been found.<sup>14</sup> There has survived one letter written by Cromwell to the German, Dr. Adams, who was associated with Bonner and Cavendish in their commission,<sup>15</sup> But his letter was one of general encouragement and he does not appear to have made any specific suggestions.<sup>16</sup> However anxious he may have been to fight Imperial pretensions in North Germany, Cromwell probably had few illusions about the Lübeckers. He called them "canaill-  
es".<sup>17</sup>

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13. See above, chap. 3, p. 66, chap. 4, p. 82.

14. See below, app. v, pp 461-462.

15. See below p. 126.

16. Unpublished letter from Thomas Cromwell to Dr. Adams of 20 September 1535. For a copy of this letter see below, app. vi, pp 465-467. In October 1535 Dr. Adams may have believed that Cromwell was sympathetic to his aims: see below, p. 142, note 37.

17. Cromwell twice called them this in conversation with Chapuys: L.P., VIII.666, L.P., X.601, p. 244.

Nevertheless Lübeck was the means with which Henry VIII and Cromwell hoped to fight Imperial control in Denmark. On 21 August 1533 Marcus Meyer landed at Rye, after a sea-fight between the Lübeckers and some Spaniards. He was detained in Dover prison and may have remained there until the following October.<sup>18</sup> Born in Hamburg about 1495, Meyer had served both Frederick I of Denmark and Charles V as a condottiere, but when Wullenwever gained control of Lübeck, Meyer entered his service.<sup>19</sup> Meyer probably suggested to Henry VIII the advantages of an alliance with Lübeck.<sup>20</sup> Knighted and with a pension from the king, he returned to the Hanse town in January 1534. Either Meyer or Dr. Thomas Legh, who was sent to Lübeck in the following month, took proposals from Henry VIII probably based on conversa-

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18. L.P., VI.1012, 1013, 1201.

19. J.M.Lappenburg, "Der hamburger Grobschmidt Marc Meyer", Zeitschrift des Vereines für hamburgische Geschichte, n.s., ii, 1862, pp.13-31.

20. It is possible that when on 1 October 1533 the town of Lübeck wrote to Henry VIII about the restitution of certain English goods (L.P., VI.1200), petitioning for the release of Meyer (L.P., VI.1201) and to Cromwell concerning men who were in sanctuary at Westminster (L.P., VI.1203) that they wrote other letters with plans for Denmark. Letters may have been brought by the "secretary of Lübeck" who was in England for a short time in February 1534 (L.P., VII.214, 296). From an undated draft of a letter from Henry VIII to Lübeck: B.M.: Cotton, Nero, B. iii, f.106 (L.P., VI.428), it is possible to suppose that the initiative for English intervention in Denmark came at this time not only verbally from Marcus Meyer, but also from letters from Lübeck, no longer extant.

tions Meyer had had with the Council before he left England.<sup>21</sup>

Ambassadors from Hamburg and Lübeck left for England at the end of May 1534.<sup>22</sup> Henry VIII hoped to come to an agreement on matters of religion with the ambassadors from Hamburg.<sup>23</sup> But with Lübeck he wished not only to make a religious settlement, but also a political arrangement. The ambassadors came in response to proposals from Henry VIII,<sup>24</sup> but it is unlikely that the Lübeck ambassadors were unprepared for the possibility of such a summons or were unwilling to take this opportunity to secure English aid against their enemies.

There are in existence copies of a draft treaty for an alliance which the Lübeckers hoped to conclude with Henry VIII

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21. The grant was enrolled 27 February 1534: L.P., VII.262(27); L.P., VII.214, 152; L.P., VI.1528.
22. L.P., VII.710, 737.
23. The nine religious articles concerning Henry VIII's marriage, and the papacy which were probably presented for the consideration of the Senate of Hamburg by Dr. Legh during his visit there in the spring of 1534 are printed in (C.P.Cooper), Report on Rymer's Foedera, Appendix C, 1869, pp.36-37, as are also the articles delivered in the name of the king to the three envoys from Hamburg, (the Superintendent, Johannus Epinus, the Burgomaster, Albert Westede, and Senator Hinrik Hesterbert) during their stay in London from July to 24 August 1534, at pp.39-40. Both documents were transcribed from the Hamburg Archives before these were burnt in 1842.
24. See the commission by the town of Lübeck to its ambassadors of 31 May, 1534: L.P. VII.737, and also L.P. VIII.189.

during the summer of 1534.<sup>25</sup> In the treaty, after the promise of support for Henry VIII in the causa matrimonialis, and agreement on certain religious articles, the Lübeckers promised to give the throne of Denmark to Henry VIII<sup>26</sup> or to his nominee. It was a treaty with a definite term of 12 months, during which the transaction was to be completed. Although no mention of a loan was made in the treaty, with three of the drafts there have survived copies of Lübeck's bond in respect of a loan from Henry of 20,000 gulden.<sup>27</sup>

In the following January the King of the Romans wrote to his sister, the Regent of the Netherlands, that he had seen a copy of the treaty between England and Lübeck, and in the same month a copy was sent to the emperor. On 20 January 1535 Christian of Holstein mentioned, in instructions to his councillor Peter Suavenius, that it was common report "confirmed even by the letters of princes and friends" that Henry VIII had made a treaty  
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25. This treaty, or draft treaty, has been printed in Waitz, op.cit., ii, pp.319-323 (latin text from the Weimar Archives), Paludan-Müller, op.cit., i, pp.265-273 (a German translation from the Archives at Copenhagen). For note of other texts of the treaty in German archives see Waitz, op.cit., p.324. There is no copy of the treaty in the Public Record Office, nor in the collection of documents relating to northern Europe collected by Beale in the Yelverton collection in the British Museum (Add. Mss. 48009 and 48010) nor has it been found in the other major collections in the British Museum.

26. See also L.P., VI.428.

27. Waitz, loc.cit.

with Lübeck in the previous summer.<sup>28</sup> While he was in England Suavenius could not find out whether Henry VIII had accepted the Lübeckers' offer of the throne of Denmark, but the details he gave of the treaty corresponded with those which have survived in the drafts.<sup>29</sup>

This treaty was not a forgery spread abroad boastfully by Lübeck. On 17 October 1534 Wullenwever wrote to Henry VIII that he needed more time to consider the articles which his ambassadors had brought from England.<sup>30</sup> Although the treaty may have been drawn up in the summer of 1534, the Lübeck ambassadors would not have had powers to complete it.<sup>31</sup> In March 1535 Wullenwever declared that he was thankful to accept the friendship Henry had offered, and he would be glad to confirm a league if the king would assist Lübeck with money. On 25 May Henry wrote to Wullenwever that he had sent his confirmation of the treaty and asked why the final

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28. Vienna, Belgica, P.C. 6(ii), f.20. Lanz, Staatspapiere, op. cit., pp.172-174. L.P., VIII.72, from Waitz, op.cit., ii, pp.390-398. Copy of Christian's instructions are in the Vienna Archives: Belgica, P.A. 6(ii), ff.222-227. See also L.P., IX.482.

29. L.P., VIII.556, 1172.

30. L.P., VII.1272.

31. G.Mattingly, Renaissance Diplomacy, 1955, p.42.

ratification was so long delayed by Lübeck.<sup>32</sup> Although it is possible that the English were still uncertain to what extent Christian of Holstein was allied to the emperor, only firm expectation of an agreement with Lübeck can fully explain the very cool reception which was given to Peter Suavenius when he was in England in the spring of 1535.<sup>33</sup>

Henry VIII did make a loan to the Lübeckers. Cromwell himself admitted this to Chapuys. When Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, went to Wittenberg he was instructed to admit to the German princes that Henry VIII had aided the Lübeckers, but only with a loan of money which was to be repaid.<sup>34</sup> This was no falsehood for the repayment of the loan continued until 1543.<sup>35</sup> Estimates of its size varied. Duke Christian of Holstein and the Danzigers believed that it was £40,000,<sup>36</sup> but the loan was probably of about £3,500.<sup>37</sup> Although

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32. L.P., VIII. 1162(ii); B.M.: Cotton, Vitellius, B.xxi, f.105 (L.P., VIII.759).

33. L.P. VIII, 1161, 1163, 1166, 1167, 1168.

34. L.P., VIII. 666; L.P., IX.213.

35. In March 1539 Lübeck owed Henry VIII 5,000 marks, i.e. £1888.13.4. In 1543 the Steelyard in London lent Hans Hulseman 10,000 gulden in order that he might repay Henry VIII half the 20,000 gulden borrowed from him by Lübeck. 20,000 was worth approximately £3,500: L.P., XIV(i).490; J.M.Lappenberg, Urkundliche Geschichte des hansischen Stahlhofes zu London, 1851, pp.174-175. See also L.P., XVII.390.

36. B.M.: Add. Ms. 48036, f.98v., L.P. X.304(1.vii).

37. Waitz., op.cit., ii, p.324, iii, p.493, Paludan Muller, op.cit. i, p.562, see above, note 35.



the absence of an English copy of the treaty or of its ratification<sup>38</sup> makes it possible to argue that the treaty was never formally concluded, it seems unlikely that Henry VIII would have lent his money unless he had considered that a firm agreement was almost concluded.

Despite its vigorous war<sup>T</sup> with the Dutch, Lübeck was no longer the powerful Hanse town that it had been one hundred and fifty years before. Moreover it was a town torn by religious and political factions, whose rash and impetuous burgomaster, Wullenwever, was continually out-manoeuvred both diplomatically and strategically by the Duke of Holstein.<sup>39</sup> However, if Henry VIII and Cromwell were deluded by Marcus Meyer and the Lübeck ambassadors of 1534 it would not be surprising: not only had they to balance the conflicting reports of their envoys, Robert Barnes, and Thomas Legh,<sup>40</sup> in their estimates of Lübeck's power, but their initial decision to support Lübeck must have been taken in 1534 before catastrophe had

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38. The importance and formality of the ratification of a treaty is shown in M. de Maulde-la-Clavière, La Diplomatie au Temps de Machiavel, iii, 1893, pp.210-220.

39. Wentz, op.cit., provides a useful corrective to the older idealization of Wullenwever in Waitz, op.cit., or C.F.Wurm, Die politischen Beziehungen Heinrichs VIII. zu Marcus Meyer und Jürgen Wullenwever, 1852.

40. See Thomas Legh's report from Lübeck on 25 May, 1534 which minimized the power of Christian of Holstein; and Robert Barnes' letter to Cromwell from Hamburg of 12 July (1534), where the advantages of an alliance with Duke Christian were urged. This letter from Barnes is dated only 12 July, but it must have been written in 1534, for in the following year Barnes was in England preparing for his journey to Wittenberg: L.P., VII. 710, 970, L.P., VIII.1077, 1078.

begun to overwhelm the Hanse town.

Bonner's embassy to northern Germany in 1535 was closely linked with the mission in the same year of Robert Barnes, Edward Foxe and Nicholas Heath to the discussions of the Schmalkaldic League at Wittenberg. They had been sent to secure the League's concurrence in joint action with England against a General Council.<sup>41</sup> Bonner "beyng com(m)a(n)ded" by the king and Cromwell "after/ the expedition of c(er)teyn things enoyned unto us, fullie/ and playnelie c(er)tifie your lordeship/" wrote to Foxe on 18 December, 31 January, 11, 13 and 20 March.<sup>42</sup> He also sent him copies of letters and articles received and sent by him and Cavendish in the course of their negotiations.<sup>43</sup>

The English ambassadors in Wittenberg had discussions with Peter Suavenius and Christian of Holstein's marshall, Melchior Rantzau, in December, 1535. The Holsteiners blamed Lübeck for the war and promised that Christian would be a friend and brother to Henry VIII and an ally against the house of Burgundy.<sup>44</sup> Despite

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41. Barnes left England at the end of July 1535: L.P., VIII.1109. Foxe and Heath left in the middle of October arriving in Weimar on 9 December: F.Prüser, England und die Schmalkaldener 1535-1540, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, xi, 1929, p.20; H.Jedin, A History of the Council of Trant, i, trans. E.Graf, 1957, p.305.

42. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.110. The letters to Foxe are at ff.95, 110, 126, 128, 130.

43. ibid., f.110a.

44. L.P., IX.1019.

these conversations with the Duke of Holstein's councillors, the English ambassadors at Wittenberg were mainly engaged in an attempt to establish a religious and financial agreement with the Lutheran princes,<sup>45</sup> while Bonner was engaged in political and diplomatic intrigues.

Bonner and his colleague Richard Cavendish left London on 29 July 1535 on the first stage of their journey to Denmark and Germany. They were delayed for over a fortnight waiting for a favourable wind and stayed at Trimley near Felixstowe, Cavendish's home, until they sailed in the king's ship "The Minion", on 15 August.<sup>46</sup>

This embassy to Denmark was Bonner's first diplomatic mission since his return from Marseilles nearly two years before.<sup>47</sup> Unlike Richard Cavendish he had no previous diplomatic experience in Germany, but he seems, nevertheless, usually to have acted as the senior partner in the embassy and on him devolved much of the responsibility taken by the two Englishmen and their German colleague Dr. Adams.<sup>48</sup>

Richard Cavendish had been master of the ordnance at Berwick

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45. L.P., IX.1014, 1016, L.P., X.457.

46. L.P., VII.1148; L.P., IX.23; L.P., XII (11).391; L.P., IX.323, B.M.L. Add.Ms.4803b, f.37.

47. On 23 May 1535 Chapuys reported that the two "doctors" who went to Marseilles when the Pope was there had accompanied the English deputies to Calais: L.P., VIII.751. There is no other evidence that Bonner accompanied Peter Vannes to Calais.

48. L.P., VIII.1065.

and Newcastle between 1534 and 1537.<sup>49</sup> It was probably because of this experience that at the beginning of January 1535 he was sent to Denmark with that other master-gunner, Christopher Morres,<sup>50</sup> to purchase naval stores, and to recruit soldiers to serve Henry VIII in Ireland.<sup>51</sup> Cavendish also took a letter from Henry to the burgomaster of Lübeck, and he may have travelled with Wullenwever to Denmark.<sup>52</sup> Despite the suspicions of the Imperial ambassador, Cavendish and Morres probably did not take a large part in the negotiations between Lübeck and England which at that time were being dealt with in England by envoys from Lübeck. This first journey to north Germany, together with his knowledge of the language,<sup>53</sup> made Richard Cavendish a suitable companion for Bonner. During the winter of 1535-1536, while they were in Hamburg, Cavendish continued to purchase naval stores,<sup>54</sup> as well as to play a more explicit part in the diplomatic negotiations. These two missions

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49. L.P., VI(i).488, L.P., IV(ii).2995. In 1532 Cavendish and Morres inspected the fortifications at Carlisle and in 1533 the fortifications at Berwick: L.P., V.1629, L.P., VI.37. Morres had a similar, although perhaps more distinguished, career than Cavendish; his journey to Lübeck at the beginning of 1535 was his only embassy abroad: see the biography of Morres in D.N.B.

50. Waitz, op.cit., ii, p.390. Waitz quotes the report from the Imperial ambassador in Lübeck, Hopfensteiner, to the Regent of the Netherlands, which he found in the Brussels Archives. L.P., VIII.121.

51. L.P., VIII. 418, 527; L.P., VIII.121.189.

52. L.P., VIII.1162(i); Waitz, loc.cit.

53. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.87.

54. L.P., X.353, L.P., XI.381A; B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.45.

to northern Germany seem to have been the only diplomatic activity of a man who was primarily a soldier and a privateer.<sup>55</sup>

The German Adam Paceus, also known as Otto Pack and Dr. Adams, had had a very varied career before he entered the service of Henry VIII in July 1535. He was born about 1480 of a noble family in Meissen which for years had served the Dukes of Saxony.<sup>56</sup> After Dr. Adams, as he was known to his English colleagues, had gained his doctorate of laws at Leipzig university, he entered the service of Duke George of Saxony. In 1527 Dr. Adams was accused of telling Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, of the existence of a treaty of alliance against the Protestants, signed by the chief Catholic powers, of whom Duke George was one. It is clear that the treaty itself was a forgery, although a meeting of some Catholic princes had occurred at Breslau in May 1527. How much responsibility Dr. Adams must bear for producing the forgery, and how far he was used by Philip of Hesse or used the latter to his own financial advantage, has been

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55. Richard Cavendish, after doing good service as a lieutenant of ordnance at the siege of Mounstrell in 1544 was made controller of Boulogne. He was issued letters of marque in 1543: L.P., XIX(1).919. L.P., XIX(ii).337(2); L.P., XVII.285(14), L.P., XVIII(1).476(13).
56. L.P., VIII.1010; Allgemeine deutsche Biographie, xxv, 1887, p.60; W.Schomburgk, "Die Pack'schen Händel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Herzog Georg's von Sachsen", Historisches Taschenbuch, 6th. s., i, 1882, p.179.

the cause of much controversy.<sup>57</sup> Dr. Adams, of course, declared to Bonner his innocence in the strife between Duke George, whose animosity towards him was known all over Europe,<sup>58</sup> but he managed to find refuge in Lübeck, where by 1535 he had become important to Wullenwever. He was in England from June 1534, probably until the following January,<sup>59</sup> as an ambassador for the town of Lübeck; and he came again on 23 May 1535 when he remained until the middle of August.<sup>60</sup> Not only was Adams acting both for Lübeck and for Henry VIII in the negotiations during the following winter, he was also intriguing with the Imperialists, and possibly even with the French. In January 1535, Adams attempted to negotiate with Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador in London, but it was not until the following August that he first gave information to Chapuys. On 2 August Adams went to Chapuys and promised that he would secure the kingdom of Denmark for the Duke of Holstein or any other prince the emperor would nominate. He told the Imperial ambassador some of the reasons for the mission of Bonner and Cavendish.<sup>61</sup>

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57. F.Zoepfl, "Pack, Otto v.", Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche, ed. M.Buchberger, vii, 1935, pp.864-865, gives a full bibliography of articles on Pack's career. For the text of the supposed Breslau confederation see "Acta von D. Ottens von Pack Abhorung zu Cassel in puncto des von ihm angegeben und dem Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen copeylich vorgezeigten Bundnisses Königs Ferdinand und einen (sic) Catholischen Churfürsten und Fürsten", in J.W.Hoffmann, ed., Sammlung Ungedruckter...Nachrichten, Documenten und Urkunden, i, 1736, pp.69-132.

58. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.188v.; L.P., IX.18.

59. L.P., VII.871, L.P., VIII.121.

60. L.P., VIII.750, B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.144.

61. L.P., VIII.827, 121, L.P., IX.17; L.P., VIII.1065, 1177.

Dr. Adams was not a completely successful double-agent, because he never had the full confidence of his masters. In the commission issued by Henry VIII at the end of July 1535<sup>62</sup> it was clearly stated that Dr. Adams was to do nothing without the express consent of Cavendish and Bonner. Chapuys for his part was informed that Adams was a "crafty, double-dealing fellow" and wanted to use him, without being too greatly bound to him. In April 1536, when Adams and the English messenger Derick had been arrested in Flanders on their journey from Hamburg to England, Chapuys advised Charles V not to release Adams, a "tres fin galant, who has been the cause of many evils".<sup>63</sup> As for Bonner, by the end of six months his initial trust in his German colleague had evaporated so far that on 11 March he wrote to Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, and Henry's ambassador in Wittenberg, that Adams "is, savyng yo(ur) lordeshippes ho(n)o<sup>r</sup>, a v(er)y fals harlott...".<sup>64</sup>

The ostensible reason for the mission of Bonner and Cavendish was to negotiate a peace between Lübeck and the Duke of Holstein,<sup>65</sup> and it was commonly reported in Hamburg that the English ambassadors

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62. The Commission is printed in full in C.F.Wegener, Aarsberetninger Fra Det Kongelige Geheimearchiv indeholdende Bidrag til Dansk Historie af utrykte Kilder, iv, 1870, pp.6-8. Wegener dates the commission after 26 July 1535.

63. L.P., VIII.121; L.P., IX.18; L.P., X.601.

64. B.M.: Add. Ms., 48036, f.127v.

65. L.P., VIII.1065.

were coming for this purpose.<sup>66</sup> Chapuys thought this a fine example of English vanity.<sup>67</sup> But Bonner and Cavendish were deputed to transact secret negotiations in Denmark which were not openly disclosed in their commission. Dr. Adams wrote to Cromwell on 28 August that he could see no other way of the king's ambassadors going into Denmark and discharging their secret business except under the guise of arranging peace. He repeated this advice to Bonner and Cavendish when he met them in Hamburg at the end of September.<sup>68</sup> In Bonner's letter to Foxe in the following March, Bonner himself wrote that "in v(er)y dede wher our entent was hydy(n)g the i(n)ward cause of our/ repaire in to thies p(ar)ties, to p(re)tende outwardlie the singular zeale our/ sov(er)eigne lord had to peas & co(n)corde in thies p(ar)ties, & our oonelie co(m)my(n)g/ to be for the same, & by that meanes obteyny(n)g admission to dryve the matt(er) in<sup>to</sup> our/ sov(er)eigne lords hands"<sup>69</sup> that the king might "obtayne a good foote in denmark".<sup>70</sup>

Marcus Meyer had become captain of the castle and town of Warburg, "the veraye kaye betwixt/ Swedone and Den(n)marke",<sup>71</sup> which

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66. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.131b.

67. L.P., IX.17.

68. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.146v., 41v.

69. ibid., f.126v.

70. ibid., f.44v., letter from Bonner and Cavendish to Henry VIII, 2 October 1535.

71. ibid., f.39v.



he was believed to hold in the name of the king of England.<sup>72</sup> In a letter to Henry VIII Meyer declared that sixteen to twenty ships could effect the conquest of Denmark.<sup>73</sup> He not only repeated this to Bonner and Cavendish in September 1535, but in the following April wrote again to the king that twenty ships would secure the kingdom. Bonner and Cavendish were somewhat sceptical because neither the Duke of Mecklenburg nor the Count of Oldenburg had written so encouragingly to the king.<sup>74</sup> But, in September 1535 Henry VIII equipped two or three ships under the command of Christopher Morres. On 6 September Chapuys reported to the emperor that three ships were going to sail to Denmark and Lübeck,<sup>75</sup> and a week later he had heard that they were to go to Warburg. He had seen a muster of the one hundred soldiers who were to embark, and "there never was such a sorry sight".<sup>76</sup>

Stephen Vaughan was ordered to carry £5000 to Bonner and Cavendish at Warburg in the ship Swepestake. Vaughan was to pay the money out as Bonner and Cavendish advised.<sup>77</sup> Chapuys reported that

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72. L.P., XI.80.

73. L.P., X.686.

74. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.39.

75. L.P., IX.287.

76. L.P., IX.356, see also L.P., IX.229, 232, 922.

77. L.P., X.376, 377. These two letters are misdated in the Calendar, see L.P., X.Errata, p.653 and R.B.Merriman, Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell, ii.1902, p.298.

████ Bonner and Cavendish themselves had taken a great deal of money with them.<sup>78</sup> Although this may have been the money entrusted to Cavendish for the provision of the ship,<sup>79</sup> it is possible that they were ordered to take money to Wullenwever. When the latter was captured in the following October, there was found upon his person three thousand gulden in melted gold.<sup>80</sup>

By 23 September, however, the expedition to Warburg had been cancelled, and Morres had discharged the soldiers he had mustered for the expedition.<sup>81</sup> It is possible that formal ratification of the treaty had not yet been obtained, and that suddenly the king lost patience with the venture. But it seems unlikely that Henry, who was already losing patience in the previous May, would have sent two ambassadors and would have prepared ships to follow them if he had not at last reached agreement with Wullenwever and Meyer.

Lübeck's defeat by Duke Christian in the previous June<sup>82</sup> cannot have been the determining factor in the decision to cancel Morres' expedition, because as early as 26 July<sup>83</sup> news of Lübeck's "overthrow"

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78. L.P., IX.287.

79. On 26 July Cavendish wrote to Cromwell that he had received £400 "of the king's provision": L.P. VIII.1111; see also L.P. VIII.1110.

80. L.P., IX.824.

81. L.P., IX.417.

82. L.P. VIII.1110.

83. In his letter to Cromwell on 28 August Dr. Adams described the defeat at Funa in some detail, (B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.145). This defeat of a combined force raised by Count Christopher, the Duke of Mecklenburg and the town of Lübeck by the Duke of Holstein's marshall, Melchior Rantzau at Oksnebjerg in Fünen has been described as the decisive action of the war. See E.H. Dunkley, The Reformation in Denmark, 1948, p.70.

had reached England. It is much more likely (as Chapuys wrote on 25 September)<sup>84</sup> that between 13 and 23 September Henry VIII and Cromwell had received the letters of Robert Barnes, written from Hamburg on 22 and 24 August. Barnes first reported that in accordance with a letter from Charles V, all the senators of Lübeck "chosen since this business began" had been dismissed, and later that Wullenwever himself had been put out of office "with a great tum(ult)".<sup>85</sup> Dr. Adams, who arrived in Lübeck on 20 August, also wrote to England of the confusion he had found: the senate was changed, the king's friends ejected, and his enemies restored.<sup>86</sup> Wullenwever's overthrow was probably the decisive factor in the change of English policy.

Bonner and Cavendish wrote to the king on 24 October that they were very glad "yo(ur) grace retrayted (sic) yd(ur) p(ur)pose/... for in v(er)y dede if they,,said shippes,, had com(m)e/ towards W(ar)berg they,,shuld not oonlie,,have been taken & ,,right evel handeled,,/ but also,,yo(u)<sup>r</sup> grace therebie shuld,,have declared your self a manifest enemye,,unto the duke of holste,,".<sup>87</sup> Thus, Bonner and Cavendish left England as an advance party, to prepare the way for an expedition which was to effect the conquest of Denmark

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84. L.P., IX.434.

85. L.P., IX.153, 177 and also L.P., IX.181.

86. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.144.

87. ibid., f.58v.

with Marcus Meyer and Wullenwever.

On 7 October Bonner and Cavendish heard from the English messenger Derick and from one Anthony Strall that when Henry VIII learnt that the ship in which they had voyaged to Warburg had been taken and they drowned, he had countermanded the expedition under Christopher Morres.<sup>88</sup> It is possible that the king received this news, or the rumour current in Lübeck and Hamburg from the letters of Dr. Adams, although in the copies of his letters, which he prepared for Bonner, Dr. Adams had only mentioned to Cromwell his growing fears for the safety of the two English ambassadors.<sup>89</sup>

When Dr. Adams arrived in Lübeck on 20 August, he failed to fulfil his commission from the king to deliver letters to Jürgen Wullenwever, lest he should endanger the king's cause. It was Bonner and Cavendish's opinion that Wullenwever would not have yielded to his enemies and resigned if he had been assured of Henry's support<sup>90</sup> and their opinion was confirmed when they had a secret interview with Wullenwever at the end of October. Wullenwever told them that if he had had from Dr. Adams one-fortieth of the encouragement contained in the king's letters, copies of which Bonner delivered

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88. ibid., ff.182, 58v.

89. Copy made by Adams of a letter from him to Cromwell on 28 August, ibid., f.145; similar copy, 4 September, ibid., f.147v; similar copy, 18 September, ibid., f.148v. Dr. Adams became more pessimistic about the fate of Bonner and Cavendish in each letter.

90. ibid., ff.144, 43v.

to him, "he w(i)t(h) all his frends wold have lost their lyves  
 afor/ he wold have giffe(n) up his rowme [REDACTED] at lubeck".  
 It is not easy to see what Adams' motives could have been in mis-  
 leading Wullenwever in this way, except that, as he said by this  
 time he believed the cause in Denmark to be lost.<sup>91</sup>

On 21 August Bonner and Cavendish landed at Meyer's castle of  
 Warburg on the Swedish coast. At that time the castle was being  
 besieged so fiercely by Trede Wolston Gregerson, a supporter of  
 the Duke of Holstein, that entry could only be made by sea.<sup>92</sup> The  
 English ambassadors immediately made an attempt to send letters to  
 the Duke of Holstein,<sup>93</sup> perhaps in order to give some semblance of  
 truth to the story that they had been sent to arrange peace. In  
 a letter to England written on 2 October they declared that they  
 would make their "com(m)yng to the/ said duke to stande in iij  
 poyntes". They would declare first that the king wanted peace  
 between Lübeck and the Duke of Holstein, and secondly that Henry  
 wanted the Duke's friendship because he was "eva(n)gelicall".  
 Thirdly, they would touch upon certain ships seized by the Duke.<sup>94</sup>

Richard Cavendish spoke to the "Lord Trede" and after much argument  
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91. ibid., ff.71v, 146v.

92. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.37.

93. Bonner reported that on 26 July he had received letters from  
 the king for the Duke of Holstein, and others were sent for  
 him to take dated 31 July: L.P., VIII.1111, B.M.: Add.Ms.  
 48036, f.38v.

94. ibid., ff.37v., 44.

the latter allowed letters to be sent on 27 August both to the Duke of Holstein, who was in his camp outside Copenhagen, and to Duke Albert of Mecklenberg, who was being beseiged within the town.<sup>95</sup>

Bonner needed a safe-conduct from the Duke of Holstein for, as he told the Duke's councillor, Peter Suavenius, at their meeting in Hamburg on 16 October, if Denmark and the Sound were as safe as England there would be no need of a safe-conduct, but since Denmark was very troublesome, and they had the king's ship with them, they feared to travel without one. Suavenius was very suspicious and thought that they had only wanted a safe-conduct as a cover for their activities at Warburg. However, on 9 September their messenger returned to Warburg with the safe-conduct. Bonner distrusted this safe-conduct, because, as he explained in his letter to Henry VIII on 2 October, it was signed by Dytcliff Brokthorp, styled chief captain of the Duke of Holstein's army, and Erik Goldstrome, styled captain of the Duke of Holstein's navy. Bonner believed that they had styled themselves thus "for craft~~e~~ purposes", to invalidate the safe-conduct. Bonner declared that Erik was the King of Sweden's admiral, and that the Duke of Holstein's admiral was Yoham Stark. Bonner and Cavendish sent the safe-conduct to England in order that the king and Cromwell might see how they had been tricked.<sup>96</sup> A month later the reassurances of Suavenius, who said that he himself

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95. ibid., ff.37v.-38.

96. ibid., ff.53, 38, 53v.

had made the letters, failed to placate Bonner. The Englishmen were suspicious of the Duke of Holstein's intentions from the first moment Cavendish had difficulty in his interview with the besieger of Warburg. The incident of the safe-conduct<sup>97</sup> confirmed them in their distrust, which they retained throughout the winter.

Instead of going to meet the Duke of Holstein, Bonner and Cavendish sailed around Denmark to Hamburg. They heard that six hours after they had left Warburg, ships came which were to take them. If they had been captured they feared they would have been in a particularly difficult position with the Duke of Holstein, because they had delivered Henry's letters to Marcus Meyer and his brother.<sup>98</sup>

As soon as they arrived in Hamburg on 21 September, Bonner and Cavendish went to lodge in the house of Henrik Rodd, where Dr. Legh had lived when he had been in Hamburg. They described Rodd as "a ,,righte,, honest/ ma(n), & oon of the counsell" of Hamburg. They immediately wrote to Dr. Adams, who was in Lübeck, asking him if he had had any letters for them from England, and asking him to come to see them as soon as possible that they might learn what Adams had "entered upon" here & also/ at lubek". They themselves could not leave Hamburg because of their responsibility

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97. The latin draft of the safe-conduct, in the hand of Suavenius, is printed in Wegener, op.cit., p.10, and noted in L.P.IX.286.

98. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036 f.38v.

for the King's ship.<sup>99</sup>

Dr. Adams wrote back two days later assuring them of his great thankfulness that they had at last arrived safely, escaping the elements, their enemies and pirates. He told them very little except that he would come shortly, and would give them all the information which he could not trust to a letter.<sup>100</sup> In their letter of 2 October,<sup>101</sup> it is possible to see that Bonner and Cavendish were already slightly annoyed with Dr. Adams for his failure to leave Lübeck and come to Hamburg immediately he heard of their arrival, and also perhaps with his immediate insistence that they should trust no one but him with their business.

Throughout the autumn of 1535 Dr. Adams was pressing Bonner and Cavendish to obtain an answer from Henry VIII for Bernard à Mela. À Mela has been described as "ein phantastischer Abenterer von der Art Markus Meyers", and as a "cowardly, bustling, impotent, insignificant adventurer" who during his two years' stay in Sweden from 1523 to 1525 dabbled in every project that arose and accomplished nothing.<sup>102</sup> Bernard had risen in the favour of King Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, and held the important castle of Kalmar as a fief until he betrayed his master.<sup>103</sup> He was later employed by the Prince of

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99. ibid., f.94; ibid., f.184.

100. ibid., ff.133-316.

101. ibid., f.40.

102. Prüser, op.cit., p.80, note 4; P.B.Watson, The Swedish Revolution under Gustavus Vasa, 1889, p.187.

103. C.Hallendorff and A.Schück, History of Sweden, 1929, p.143.



Luneburg and the Elector of Saxony.<sup>104</sup> Everywhere his purpose was to obtain support for a war against Gustavus, who he alleged, had deprived his Swedish wife of her inheritance.

Bernard à Mela had come to England in May 1535<sup>105</sup> with letters and messages from the Duke of Mecklenburg to Henry VIII. Dr. Adams told Chapuys of Bernard's mission, hinting that he had a commission to discuss the "evangelistic sect". According to Dr. Adams Henry VIII had proposed to aid Bernard against the King of Sweden, but à Mela had refused the offer, together with a knighthood, because, not having been successful with his employers' affairs, he could not with honesty treat of his own. Although Chapuys reported to the emperor that à Mela left England ill-satisfied<sup>106</sup> he did receive an annual pension from the king at least until 1545.<sup>107</sup>

On 28 August Dr. Adams wrote to Cromwell that Bernard à Mela remained steadfast in his promises and was prepared to do all he could for Henry. On 12 September he wrote that Bernard wanted a definite reply whether the king would occupy Sweden. Six days later he wrote once more that if Henry would personally occupy Sweden both Bernard and another exile from Sweden, Swant Stur, would

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104. L.P., XX(i).967; L.P., XX(ii).598, L.P., XX(I).192, 1382 (64), 1491; L.P., XX(ii).439.

105. L.P., VIII.750, 1170, 1171.

106. L.P., IX.58.

107. L.P., XIII(ii).499, L.P., XIV(ii), 781, f.68b.; L.P., XVI.380, £126, 1489, f.182b., L.P., XVII.880, f.40, L.P., XX(i).1271, L.P., XX(ii).68, 69. See also L.P., XIV(ii).781, f.79. In 1539 Cromwell described Bernard as "the king's trusty friend": L.P., XIV(i).490.

renounce their rights to the Swedish throne in his favour.<sup>108</sup> Even if Gustavus Vasa had not been in full possession of the throne, the rights of à Mela and Stur were of doubtful practical or legal value.<sup>109</sup>

As soon as Bonner and Cavendish arrived in Hamburg, Dr. Adams began to plead Bernard's cause to them, saying that he was only waiting until the war in Denmark had ended and then would bring his army "& doo that thyng that shall please" the king.<sup>110</sup> The army which Bernard claimed to control was that of Hackfort, senator and captain of the Duke of Gelders, and it was rumoured that it had originally been conscripted to serve the French King's designs in Denmark. Dr. Adams had written to Cromwell that Bernard had gone among these soldiers and had persuaded them to follow him. If within a month he presented them with 4000 crowns they would spend the whole winter at their own expense and at the beginning of Lent would fight for Bernard in whichever kingdom he wished. This sum corresponded exactly with the amount that Bernard, as Bonner wrote on 2 October, already owed Hackfort and his men.<sup>111</sup>

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108. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.145, 152v., 43.

109. Swant Stur was probably the son of the Regent of Sweden, Sten Stur, who died in 1520, and grandson of Swant Stur Regent until his death in 1512: Watson, *op.cit.*, pp.65, 23. Sten Stur's son had been in à Mela's custody at the castle of Kalmar when à Mela with Stan Stur's widow sought to ferment a revolution to drive Gustavus Vasa out of Sweden: *ibid.*, p.172.

110. B.M.: Add.Ms.48037, f.41v.

111. *ibid.*, ff.149, 152v., 42v.

On 3 October 1535 Dr. Adams wrote to Bonner that Imperial ambassadors had been in Lübeck trying to bribe Bernard, but the latter had remained true to the king. On 14 October Dr. Adams complained that Bernard had had no definite orders from the English envoys. In the middle of November Adams declared that only through Bernard could peace be restored, and if the king wished, Bernard would be prepared to serve him in Sweden.<sup>112</sup>

As well as pestering the English ambassadors in almost every one of his letters to them, on 11 October Dr. Adams prepared a long memorandum on the state of Denmark and Sweden which he proposed should be sent to Cromwell, after Bonner had considered it.<sup>113</sup> In this memorandum Dr. Adams stated that Denmark could not be demanded from the Lübeckers, or any other German state, because they had not got it. He said that were the king to entrust his plans to the Danish towns, he would only gain Denmark with great difficulty and unpopularity. He believed that the towns might sell themselves to the king (because everything in Denmark was for sale), but even with the towns Henry would need a great army to conquer Denmark.<sup>114</sup>

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112. Ibid., ff. 140v., 169v., 173.

113. This memorandum, ibid., ff. 163-169v, is not signed, nor is it in Dr. Adams' usual hand. However Bernard à Mela did not come to Hamburg until 9 November and it is unlikely that anyone except Dr. Adams or à Mela would have pleaded the latter's cause so strongly. A note at the end of the Memorandum asks for corrections and emendations, and in an undated letter, Dr. Adams asked Bonner to ponder all things well by himself before he discussed them with Cavendish, and to tell him whether it would be useful to send the articles of the memorandum to Cromwell: ibid., ff. 66, 174.

114. ibid., f. 163.

By far the greater part of the memorandum was devoted to advocating the advantages of attempting to capture Sweden. When this had been accomplished the king would possess not only Sweden, but also Denmark and Norway, and would control the whole of the Baltic. Adams claimed that the conquest of Sweden, a country rich in silver and all metals, would soon pay for itself. Dr. Adams described the cruelty and tyranny of King Gustavus and declared that since Gustavus had violated every oath he had taken at his coronation, he ought to be ejected and a just king elected in his place. Adams believed that the five exiles, the Bishops of Lunden and Stare, Bernard à Mela, Tritus Count of Hoya and Swant Stur, whom he described as the son of the heir to the kingdom, would be able to lead a successful revolt in Sweden. If the king of England were to help them, they would by a solemn contract give the kingdom to Henry.

Dr. Adams thought that an expedition of 7,000 or 8,000 men under Bernard à Mela could successfully invade Sweden in the following March. Such an invasion would meet no opposition. His optimism was based on the skill and popularity of Bernard à Mela whom the Swedish people were anxiously awaiting. Dr. Adams advised the English to ignore Denmark and concentrate their endeavour in Sweden.

On 9 November Bernard à Mela came to Hamburg from Lübeck, and the following day visited the English legates. On 27 November Bonner and Cavendish reported to Henry VIII that Bernard had been most

anxious to know whether the king would employ him in Sweden.

Bernard did not give the ambassadors news from Lübeck, nor the reason for his journey to Hamburg. The two Englishmen were suspicious of Bernard because he had declared to Cavendish that he "was confedered & bonde w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) the lubeckes.../ ... that he shuld not/ entre in to the realme of Swede(n), but in suche wise as the said lubecks shuld/ think moost ,,expede(n)t,, .../ ... & foras(m)oche as the said lubecks/ w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) who(m) he is (con)federed are papistes & rather enemyes the(n) fre(n)ds to yo(ur) grace" they gave him no definite answer. When Bernard came to dinner on 14 November Bonner and Cavendish repeated that they could make no answer until they had told the king of Bernard's wishes and proposals, and ~~had~~ had a reply.<sup>115</sup>

Bonner and Cavendish had already written to the king on 2 October<sup>116</sup> that if he decided to leave Marcus Meyer, George Wullenwever and the Lübeckers and put his trust in Bernard à Mela to attempt the conquest of Sweden he would have no success. Bernard and Swant Stur would not think of the king's interest: "thes men nother hathe, nother yet dothe consider your gracis/ honour or profet but rather ar desiorus to achieffe and accomlishe/ their owne affaires... and... wold be content that yo(u)<sup>r</sup> grace shuld spende yo(u)<sup>r</sup> / treasur therein for their avannceme(n)t".

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115. ibid., f.66v.

116. ibid., f.44v.

Throughout the autumn Dr. Adams' insistence on Bernard's affairs puzzled the ambassadors: they wrote on 27 November that Dr. Adams "doth all that he ca(n) to magnifie hym & ferther his affaires/ what some ev(er) they be". On 8 December they wrote to the king that Dr. Adams had again been in touch with them with regard to Bernard à Mela. They inquired whether the king would venture into Sweden, and begged for instructions in the matter.<sup>117</sup>

On 24 October Bonner and Cavendish had written that their old instructions could not in any way take effect, and they asked for new ones. When on 4 December they received from the king and Cromwell the first letters they had had since they left England,<sup>118</sup> these concerned not a possible venture into Sweden but matters which were to be discussed with the Duke of Holstein.<sup>119</sup>

In the previous September, when the two English ambassadors were at Warburg, the Duke of Holstein had siezed thirteen English ships travelling from Danzig to England.<sup>120</sup> On 13 October Chapuys wrote that Henry VIII had ordered all the ships of the Easterlings in England to be arrested, because of the holding of his ships by the Duke of Holstein.<sup>121</sup> On 3 November<sup>122</sup> Dr. Adams (whom Bonner

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117. ibid., ff.66, 93v.

118. ibid., f.58, f.94v.

119. ibid., f.82, f.91.

120. L.P.IX.285, 290(1), 290(11), 291, 323, 417, 434, 566.

121. L.P., IX.594.

122. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.141-142.

described as "moche moor ,,ferve(n)t redie,, & be(ne)volent" in the affairs of Hamburg "the(n) we coud at ony/ tyme hitherto p(er)ceyve hym disposed tow(ar)d ony the kings affaires". wrote to Henry VIII on behalf of the town of Hamburg pleading for the blockade to be relaxed. On 10 November Bonner and Cavendish complied with the wishes of the town and wrote a similar letter to Cromwell.<sup>123</sup> Chapuys had learnt four days before that the merchandise of the Germans had been released, except that belonging to the men of Danzig.<sup>124</sup> Bonner presented his credentials and made a speech to the Council of Hamburg on 8 December. The second burgo-master for the year, one Albert West, pleaded that the king should release the ships and goods of the Danzigers which were still held in England.<sup>125</sup>

By 21 November eight of the English ships had arrived in England, probably bringing with them a letter to the king from the Duke of Holstein. In this letter the duke wrote that he would keep three ships for use in his war with Lübeck in accordance with the custom of the country but would release the others.<sup>126</sup> But the

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123. ibid., ff.61, 60.

124. L.P., IX.776.

125. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.84v. Henry VIII had written to the Consuls and Senators of Hamburg on 5 November recommending Bonner and Cavendish. This letter, which was endorsed as having been received on 8 December, was copied from the Hamburg archives before they were burnt and printed by C.Mönckeberg, "Aepin's Reise nach England 1534", Zeitschrift des Vereines für hamburgische Geschichte, iii (2), 1851, p.212.

126. L.P., IX.861, 831.

instructions to Bonner and Cavendish must have been sent before the ships returned because one of the two subject the ambassadors were to discuss with the Duke of Holstein was the seizure of the English ships.

In their interview with the Duke of Holstein's councillor, Suavenius, on 16 October, Bonner and Cavendish had already complained about the capture and spoiling of the English ships, as they had told the king they would do as soon as they had the opportunity. Suavenius had said that the ships had only been taken because his master the Duke of Holstein perceived that the Lübeckers prepared for war, and he feared that the ships would have gone to Lübeck and there have been requisitioned. In their letter to the king of 8 December, Bonner and Cavendish wrote that they had heard from England and from men coming from the Sound that ten of the ships had been returned, three remaining behind "one of orwel ,,and ij of new castell,,/ apo(n) a p(re)tensed custome in de(n)mark/ that the king ther havyng warres may detayne for his// money in his warres ony shippes co(m)myng throughe the sownde". They could not speak of the damage to the ships which had been returned because they did not know what it was.<sup>127</sup>

Thus, considering that the chief matter, the restoration of the English ships, was changed because ten had been restored, Bonner

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127. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.44,<sup>54v.</sup>/92-92v.



and Cavendish wrote that "ony erneste speaking" would be "for conclusion of apeas".<sup>128</sup> In the middle of November Thomas Coppyn, ambassador and counsellor to the Duke of Holstein "craftelie" came to see Bonner and Cavendish in Hamburg asking the ambassadors to visit the duke. They replied that they could not do so until they knew the king's pleasure. As soon as they received the letters from the king and Cromwell on 4 December they sent for Coppyn and told him that in these letters they "wer(e) co(m)ma(n)ded to repayre unto the said duke & aft(er) delyv(er)ie/ of l(ette)res ,,sent,, fro(m) the kings highnes unto the ,,same,, to declare ,,unto hym,, the/ further pleasur of o(ur) said sov(er)eygne lord". Eventually Coppyn told them that he would write to the duke and would let them have his reply within six days.<sup>129</sup>

On 20 December Richard Cavendish set out alone to see the Duke of Holstein. Bonner and Cavendish did not let anyone know that only one of them was going, keeping it secret from Coppyn and from their own servants until the last moment. They pretended that they had suddenly received letters of importance from the Bishop of Hereford which had to be answered immediately.<sup>130</sup>

In their letter to Cromwell on 3 January the ambassadors gave in detail the reasons which had persuaded them that only Cavendish

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128. Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell, 3 January, 1536, ibid., f.86.

129. ibid., ff.68, 82-82v.

130. ibid., f.87v, 86v.

should go to the duke. They were not sure that they would meet the duke, since mention~~ed~~ had only been made of his Council. They had been promised that some of the duke's Council should conduct them to him, but then it was decided that 45 horsemen should conduct them, who were more "like to have caryde us in to the woodis thene to ony good harborowe"; nor had they received a safe-conduct. Coppyn told them that it was possible a knowledge of German would be necessary for the envoy; and the ambassadors themselves considered that one of them should remain in Hamburg for the reconvening of the Diet which was arranged for 26 December. They further reported to England that they had in mind the capture and imprisonment of Wullenwever, who had not had a safe-conduct. Moreover they thought that since the ten ships had been delivered, one envoy to the Duke of Holstein was sufficient for the rest of their business. They wrote that if one of them were badly treated, the other might rescue him. Nor did they wish the duke to think he was too greatly sought after.<sup>131</sup>

This interview with the Duke of Holstein was one of the most important episodes of the entire embassy. The ambassadors protested too much the wisdom of Bonner's remaining in Hamburg. Their excuses sound over-anxious. Cavendish was in fact well received and before his return to Hamburg on 24 December<sup>132</sup> was given a chain worth £30.

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131. *ibid.*, and "Extracts of letters received from Bonner and Cavendish, 14 February 1536": B.M.: Cotton, Nero, B.iii, f.100 (L.P., X.303).

132. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.110.

Throughout their explanations there sounds the voice of fear and suspicion. It seems as if Bonner was afraid to accompany Cavendish.

Cavendish took with him a list of points he was to press on the duke. First, he was to urge peace with Lübeck, and then discuss the seizure of the thirteen ships.<sup>133</sup> Before he could begin his discussions with the duke he had first to allay the latter's anger that Henry in his instructions had styled him Duke of Holstein and not King of Denmark.<sup>134</sup> This done, Cavendish could proceed. Despite the fact that the ambassadors believed that the seizure of the ships was no longer of the first importance, Cavendish discussed the matter with the duke in the interview at the castle of Bredenberg. The duke repeated to Cavendish what he had written to Henry VIII in the previous month: he would pay for the use of the

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133. A note of these instructions is to be found in L.P., IX. App. 5(ii) and in W.D.Macray, "Report on the Royal Archives of Denmark and Further Report on Libraries in Sweden", The Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 1885, App.C., p.16. They are printed in Wegener, op.cit., pp.19-20. Mr. Macray dated these instructions September, which date is followed in the Calendar. Wegener's date of January 1536 seems more likely to be correct because
- (i) Macray and Wegener used the same copy of the instructions from the Archives at Copenhagen, which copy is in the hand of Suavenius. Suavenius must have made the copy during Cavendish's visit to the Duke of Holstein. Cavendish went to the Duke in December, and Suavenius went to England at the end of January or the beginning of February 1536: B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.98.
  - (ii) the knowledge that the ships had been seized could not have reached England until the end of September.

134. L.P., X.303.

three remaining ships and excused the taking of them by the custom of the country.<sup>135</sup> When Cavendish reported this conversation to Bonner the latter complained that the matter of the ships would not be satisfactorily concluded until all ships and goods were restored, that the money for the use of the three ships had not been paid, that the ships had not been used for war, and finally that the ships of all other nations were free.<sup>136</sup>

The Duke of Holstein told Cavendish that although a peace benefited his enemies more than him, he would be glad to condescend to a peace with Lübeck and would put the matter into Henry VIII's hands. He said that he would have sent his ambassadors to the king before, but the Lübeckers by their alliance with the king had prevented him. The Duke of Holstein wanted Henry to lend him 300,000 angels "considering the greate conspiratie on all sydes agaynste hym,/ as well by the lubeckes as alsoo the howse of burgon, and the/ palsegrave". The duke promised mutual aid and friendship, repayment of the loan<sup>137</sup> and offered two islands as security.

Cavendish reported to Bonner the matters he had discussed with the duke and the latter wrote to Suavenius commenting on Cavendish's conversation and demanding a prompt and definite reply. In

135. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.87v., 88, 98v.

136. Heads of matter reported by Cavendish, annotated by Bonner and sent to Suavenius before his journey to England: Macray, op. cit., pp.17-18 (L.P., X.304(ii)).

137. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.98v., 88, 99.

his comments Bonner declared that the duke had no reason to be offended with Henry or with Bonner and Cavendish for they had been unjustly accused. The duke had complained that Bonner and Cavendish sought to further the interests of the Lübeckers when the negotiations between them and the duke were under way. Bonner's comment on this remark did not carry much conviction: "We are ill-used if everything is taken in the worst sense". He did not deny Christian's claim that Henry had made a loan to the Lübeckers, but he implied as much when he inquired how the duke had heard of such a thing. He thought the duke's demands in the event of an alliance with Henry were excessive, and he believed that they rested on a misconception of Henry's need for closer friends in northern Europe. Bonner declared that Henry was a good friend of the emperor; he did not need an ally to protect him from the emperor's threats.<sup>138</sup>

By 27 November Bonner and Cavendish had already considered the possibility that the king might want to "practise honey w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) the/ said duke of holst forasmoche as the lubecks and their/ adherents have offred to accept & tak hym as king of// denmark after the deth of king cristiern". They wrote to the king that if he wanted "to co(n)feder w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) the said duke ,,of holst we think it v(er)y expedie(n)t,," that the king made a condition that King Christiern should be released.<sup>139</sup> But Cavendish in his meeting with the Duke

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138. L.P., X.303,304(ii).

139. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.65-65v, 71.

of Holstein and Bonner in his letters to Suavenius did not begin detailed negotiations with the Holsteiners. Cavendish's journey to the Duke of Holstein was a preliminary to Peter Suavenius' mission to England early in 1536 when Cavendish wrote to Cromwell "i dowte not but your mastershyppes/ can frame hym an answer...in all/ ...thynges".<sup>140</sup>

About 25 October, Jürgen Wullenwever came secretly to Hamburg to visit Bonner and Cavendish. He was disappointed that he had not received Henry VIII's letters of encouragement, but he was not without hope that the king's plans could be brought to fruition if he were to enter into the evangelical league. He decided to ride to the camp of soldiers "abiding nye breme(n) by the wat(er) of wise". Dr. Adams had written to Cromwell on 28 August that Hackfort and other captains of Gelders had collected soldiers in Gelders, Westphalia and the archdiocese of Bremen.<sup>141</sup> Bonner himself soon after his arrival in Hamburg was very anxious to know who was in command and who was paying the troops about the Elbe.<sup>142</sup> He and Wullenwever may have decided that there was a possibility of employing some of these troops, for Wullenwever had already been negotiating for troops with the Duke of Gelders in the previous

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140. ibid., f.101v.

141. ibid., ff.71v, 146.

142. An undated note in Bonner's hand may be placed near the beginning of the embassy for it was after Wullenwever's expulsion from Lübeck but before his capture, ibid., f.80.

August, and may have had some success in this direction.<sup>143</sup>

On the journey towards Bremen Wullenwever was captured by men of the Bishop of Bremen and was "layed in prison(n) in a castell called rodenberg v leagus ,,fro(m) bremen,,/ ,,wher he yet v(er)y strictlie in yrons is kept,, the blame whereof is aswell imputed to div(er)se papistes of lubeck". Certain men in Lübeck believed that Wullenwever, drunk at an inn at Rodenborch, had declared that he was a powerful burgomaster of Lübeck and would be so again in a few days: thus the Bishop of Bremen had discovered "that he had got the bird that he had endeavoured to catch".<sup>144</sup> Bonner and Cavendish, however, reported to Henry VIII, on 27 November, that Wullenwever had been betrayed, and told the king of their conversations with George's brother, Johann Wullenwever, a respected citizen of Hamburg.<sup>145</sup> Johann Wullenwever told the Englishmen that Dr. Adams was the "setter furth of al the trowble/ & busynes his said brother is in".<sup>146</sup>

On 5 January Bonner and Cavendish received letters from the  
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143. ibid., f.40v; L.P. IX.543.

144. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.72; L.P. IX.824.

145. For the career of Johann Wullenwever, and for his anxiety and activity to secure his brother's release see: J.M.Lappenberg, "Joachim Wullenwever, Hamburgischer Oberalte und Ratsherr", Zeitschrift des Vereines für hamburgische Geschichte, iii(i), 1851, pp.109-135.

146. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.72v, and also the letter from Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell of 27 November, 1535, in which they wrote that they had written to the King of Wullenwever's imprisonment "declaring what blame is deputed to Dr. Adams", ibid., f.61 (draft), f.77 (fair copy).

king and Cromwell from which they perceived that they should take up "hertelie" the matter of George Wullenwever. Two days before, they had written to Cromwell that "As yet we canne have noo assured (com)forte/ of the deliverie of George Wolwev(er)";<sup>147</sup> but as soon as they had received the king's letters to the Archbishop<sup>148</sup> and town of Bremen they forwarded them together with letters of their own asking for the release of Wullenwever. The Senate of Bremen replied to them on 11 January<sup>149</sup> and on 12 and 13 the Senate and the Archbishop wrote to the king.<sup>150</sup> The Senators claimed that they had no jurisdiction to interfere with the archbishop's action. The archbishop wrote that Wullenwever's crimes against the emperor and in Lübeck, together with his depredations in the province of Bremen, made it impossible for the archbishop to release him or to give him into Henry VIII's charge. On 10 February Henry VIII wrote again to the archbishop, complaining that Wullenwever, whom he

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147. ibid., ff.106, 88v.

148. Henry VIII to the Archbishop of Bremen, 15 December 1535: L.P., IX.976. Henry VIII to the Senate and Consuls of the city of Bremen, 15 December 1535: Marburg, Pol. Archiv, 1493, f.51; Bonner and Cavendish to the Archbishop of Bremen, 7 January 1536; L.P. X.53; Bonner and Cavendish to the City of Bremen, 7 January 1536; Marburg Pol. Archiv, 1493, ff.52.-f.53.

149. Marburg, Pol. Archiv, 1493, f.56.

150. Archbishop of Bremen to Henry VIII, 12 January 1536: Marburg, Pol. Archiv, 1593, ff.54-55; City of Bremen to Henry VIII, 13 January 1536: one copy was printed by Lappenberg, op.cit., pp.131-133 and is also to be found in Hannover Staatsarchiv, Celle, Br. Arch. des 16 III (England), 4, and another, which seems to be a somewhat shorter copy, is in Marburg, Pol. Archiv. 1493, f.57.



described as "fidelis ac dilectus familiaris", had not yet been released.<sup>151</sup> The archbishop in his reply of 1 March was surprised that Henry was not satisfied with his original explanation. He accused Wullenwever of sedition, of Lutheranism and Anabaptism. It was with the consent of the electors and princes of Germany that he had allowed such a warmonger no passage through his diocese, and he had committed no irregularity when he had detained him.<sup>152</sup>

On 15 February Bonner and Cavendish reported to Cromwell that the Archbishop and City of Bremen believed that they had counterfeited the letters in favour of Wullenwever.<sup>153</sup> On 17 March<sup>154</sup> Henry VIII replied to letters he had received from the town of Bremen dated 24 February.<sup>155</sup> The king denied that his ambassadors were guilty of fraud and threatened retribution unless Wullenwever were released. On 13 March Bonner and Cavendish wrote to the Duke of Holstein asking him to secure Wullenwever's release, for he was not an anabaptist and his detention only aided "bestia(m) illam romana(m), insatiabilem, et p(er)niciosa(m)".<sup>156</sup> On 12 May Henry VIII wrote to the town of Hamburg asking the Senate to endeavour to aid

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151. B.M.: Cotton, Vitellius, B.xxi, f.106 (L.P., X.285).

152. L.P., X.400.

153. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.114v.

154. L.P., X.490; Lappenberg, op.cit., pp.133-135, and Marburg, Pol. Archiv, 2566.

155. Hanover, Staatsarchiv, Celle, Br. Archiv, des 16, III (England) 4, f.7 and Marburg, Pol. Archiv. 2566.

156. B.M.: Cotton, Vitellius, B.xxi, f.138v. (L.P., X.469).

Wullenwever.<sup>157</sup>

Henry VIII was determined to use all his persuasive powers to help Wullenwever, probably because his policy in northern Germany centred on the alliance he had made with Lübeck when the demagogue was in power. Wullenwever's capture had seriously weakened Henry's plans and he cast discretion to the winds in his repeated letters to secure his release. Dr. Adams had his own reasons when on 18 January he advised Bonner<sup>158</sup> to inform Richard Cavendish not to look after the interests of Wullenwever so stubbornly. Dr. Adams implied that Cavendish was acting without Bonner's approval, little knowing that Bonner and Cavendish were carrying out the king's wishes. Yet Dr. Adams was right when he said that the ambassadors' endeavours on behalf of George would breed the suspicion in the minds of the German princes that Wullenwever had acted with Henry's support. In February Bonner and Cavendish wrote to Cromwell "how/ highlie the matt(er) was taken that the kings highnes had wr(i)tten/ soo extremelie (as the holstes, lubecks, & the rest of the assemblie/ (copena(m)have(n) & elbowe except) affirm his grace to have done) for/ george Wolwev(er) whom they have racked & apo(n) his co(n)- fession named hym/ to be an anabaptist...//... & the same/ reporte, derick at his beyng in breme(n), hard made agaynst the/ kings highnes".<sup>159</sup> If Henry VIII wished to form new alliances in

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157. B.M.: Cotton, Vitellius, B.xxi, f.138v. (L.P., X.469).

158. Lappenberg, op.cit., pp.213-214, and (Cooper), op.cit., p.41.

159. ibid., f.114-f.114v, and also the ambassadors' letter to Henry VIII of January 27, ibid., f.99v.

Germany in the situation brought about by Wullenwever's fall from power and capture, his continuing endeavours for his release did not make a new policy more likely to succeed.

Twice, while Bonner and Cavendish were in Hamburg, a Diet assembled there to discuss peace between the Duke of Holstein and the Lübeckers. During August and September 1535 legates<sup>had</sup> met at Luneburg and Limberg.<sup>160</sup> Bonner and Cavendish reported to Henry VIII on 2 October that ambassadors had been appointed to discuss Denmark and the title of the Duke of Bavaria to the throne, and they wanted to know whether they should "intermeddle therein". Later in the same month they wrote to the king that they had heard a rumour that the Duke of Holstein would shortly come "to thies p(ar)ties" to discuss the "eva(n)gelie". They said they would not participate in these meetings unless they received instructions.<sup>161</sup>

The first meeting of the ambassadors and princes began at Hamburg on 10 November and lasted for nine days when it was pro-rogued until 26 December.<sup>162</sup> The Duke of Holstein did not come to the assembly at Hamburg but stayed at the castle of Raynefelz, thirteen miles from Hamburg. But his ambassador, the Duke of Luneburg in person, and ambassadors from the Duke of Lauenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the towns of Lübeck, Hamburg, Luneburg, Wismar,

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160. ibid., f.145, f.138v, f.40v.

161. ibid., f.45, f.57.

162. ibid., f.61.

Rostock, and the Sound, the Elector of Saxony and of all the Hanse towns assembled in Hamburg.<sup>163</sup>

Bonner and Cavendish wrote that although "they ,,wold gladlie,, have had us stikkelers & spekers ,,we did not int(er) meddle o(ur)-self therin,, for the matter/ beyng ,,as it was,, & yd(ur) g(ra)ces pleasure not further knowen... albeit we delivo(r)ed our selves,, to ye best of o(ur) pow(er)s w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) all o(ur) dilige(n)ce,, ". Their efforts were wasted because this assembly soon found that both sides "wer set apo(n) extremities". The Dukes of Luneburg and Lauenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse wanted the Duke of Holstein as King of Denmark, with increased liberties for the Lübeckers. The other party demanded the release and re-enthronement of King Christiern II.<sup>164</sup>

Dr. Adams wrote to Bonner that the Lübeckers should not be blamed for the early dissolution of the assembly: they could not act until they had full powers of negotiation from their allies, the Duke of Mecklenburg and the Danish towns.<sup>165</sup> At the beginning of December the Duke of Holstein's servant Coppyn furiously declared to Bonner and Cavendish "the false...lubecks/ aft(er) y<sup>t</sup> they ,,moost hu(m)blie,,... apon knees & elbowes ,,had obteyned this,,.../ first dayford...put/ in execution their craftie p(ur)pose & entent vitayling the meane while/ the townes of copea(n) have(n) & elbowes"<sup>166</sup>

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163. ibid., ff.68, 64.

164. ibid., ff.64v, 64.

165. ibid., f.172.

166. ibid., f.91v.

which were still being besieged by the Duke of Holstein. The English ambassadors had heard this rumour and had reported to Henry VIII that this was the reason for the Lübeckers' "great stikking & stra(te)gem".<sup>167</sup>

The Diet which had been prorogued only until the end of December did not resume until the first of February, although ambassadors of the princes and towns were assembling in Hamburg in the middle of January.<sup>168</sup> Bonner and Cavendish wrote to Cromwell "to be playne w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) you bycause in this dayford<sup>169</sup> & also/ afore the matt(er) of b(er)nard de mela hath been entreated & that they are/ lothe we shuld knowe theirp(ra)ctise or procedings other in the same other/ in any other thing. they have used all the meanes they cowlde that we// shuld not be admitted to her or see any thing in the dayford/ moor the(n) by secrete knowledge of o(ur) lovers we might secretly attayne". The two ambassadors wrote to Foxe that "we cowlde not ope(n)lie/ be admitted in the assemblie ,,to her what they shuld saye or doo,, ne yet p(ri)vattlie aft(er) suche sorte that might sta(n)de/ w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) o(ur) sov(er)eignes hono<sup>r</sup>... & they yet/ not to make us onything p(ar)ticipant at all of any their doyngs but oonly to giff us a sengle/ hering".<sup>170</sup>

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167. ibid., f.64v.

168. ibid., f.128, f.99v. The Duke of Luneburg and the ambassadors of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse arrived on 11 January, the Lübeckers and the ambassadors of Wismar, Rostock and the Sound on the 13, and then assembled the ambassadors of the Dukes of Holstein and Mecklenburg, and of Copenhagen, Elsinor, Elbowe, Hamburg, Bremen, Brunswick and Marburg. ibid., f.110v-f.111.

169. Bonner and Cavendish always called the diet the "dayford".

170. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.107v., 108, 126v.

Bonner and Cavendish were able to report to the king on 26 February that the Duke of Holstein had been recognized as King of Denmark and was bound to confirm all the privileges of the Lübeckers.<sup>171</sup> Lübeck's allies were to be comprehended in the peace if they ratified the agreement within six weeks. If was only by "secrete meanes" that Bonner was able to obtain a copy of the treaty concluded at the Diet and send it to Foxe on 20 March.<sup>172</sup>

Although the agreement between Lübeck and the Duke of Holstein destroyed all Henry VIII's hopes in Denmark, and although his ambassadors had been practically ignored during the meetings held in February, Bonner could write to Foxe on 11 March that he and Cavendish had "brought the matt(er) in to the kings handes,.. / both p(ar)ties entending as we her saye crediblie to be suters unto o(ur) said sov(er)eign lorde. / Wherebie the same may have good occasion other to aske & obteyne suche things as we / indirectlie shuld have laboured for, or elles to denye suche socours, ayde, & helpe / as shalbe sued for".<sup>173</sup>

By January 1536 Bonner and Cavendish found themselves thoroughly dissatisfied with Dr. Adams. On 27 November they had written to the king that there were none who would accept Adams' presence when they were in conference for it was said that "he hitherto hath deceyved as mony as ev(er) he / hath medelled w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) all". When

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171. ibid., ff.120, 128.

172. ibid., f.130.

173. ibid., f.127.

Bonner and Cavendish had spoken with Peter Suavenius on 16 October in a church in Hamburg, Dr. Adams had hidden in the nave lest Suavenius should see him. Suavenius had asked the ambassadors whether Dr. Adams was in commission with them and had said that Adams was "the moost ,,wretche,,/ & falsest harlot lyvng under the son(n)e". The Holsteiner declared that he had once been a scholar under Adams and had then perceived his falsehood.<sup>174</sup>

The Englishmen did not only judge Adams from the opinion of others. Before Bonner and Cavendish arrived in Hamburg, Adams had travelled to the Duke of Mecklenburg,<sup>175</sup> but he did not fully disclose what he had discussed with him, nor would he show the ambassadors letters he had from him or from the Count of Oldenburg.<sup>176</sup> On 7 October the messenger Derick arrived in Hamburg with letters from the king to Dr. Adams, but not for Bonner and Cavendish because Henry VIII thought they had been drowned. Bonner wrote to Adams on the same day asking to be told what was in those letters. Adams when he came to see them did not show the Englishmen the letters from the king, but only an abridgement which the ambassadors in turn sent to England that Henry might know whether it corresponded to the letters he had sent.<sup>177</sup> Bonner believed that Dr. Adams tried to set up some variance "between himself and

174. ibid., ff.69, 55v.

175. ibid., ff.41v., 147v.

176. ibid., f.43.

177. ibid., ff.182, 56.

Foxe, between Foxe and his colleague Barnes, and between Luther and the English embassy at the Schmalkaldic discussions.<sup>178</sup> The ambassadors were annoyed that Dr. Adams acted for the town of Hamburg and seemed to ignore his commission from Henry VIII during much of the autumn. More important than any of these irritations however was their suspicion that Dr. Adams had had some part in the capture of Wullenwever.

On 5 January Bonner and Cavendish received letters from the king in accordance with which they went to Dr. Adams the following day, delivering letters to him from the king and Cromwell and also "drawing out & making an/ extracte as thoghe it had been out of the kings l(ette)res/ & yo(ur) mayst(er)shippes shewing the same unto hym". For the next six or seven weeks the whole endeavour of the two Englishmen was to persuade Dr. Adams to go to England. Their intrigue was shrouded in secrecy but there is no doubt that this "soo poyson/ & pestilent and p(er)nicious fals trayto<sup>r</sup>"<sup>179</sup> was to be lured to England.

Bonner and Cavendish entertained Dr. Adams and Bernard à Mela with every appearance of friendship. They even reopened discussions with Bernard about Sweden, although of course not to the extent that Dr. Adams wished.<sup>180</sup> On 31 January Bonner wrote to Foxe asking

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178. ibid., ff.56, 127v.

179. ibid., ff.106, 106v.

180. ibid., f.99; Dr. Adams complained to Bonner at the end of January 1536 that Bernard had not received a pension from the king: ibid., f.181.



that "al suche things as towche docto<sup>r</sup> ada(m)s/ may remayne secrete to yo(u)<sup>r</sup> self & the ki(n)g for ther ha(n)geth a great/ & weghtie matt(er) therapon. It shalbe well doon that yo(ur) lord-(ship)/ w(ro)te a ie(n)till l(ette)re unto the said docto<sup>r</sup>," and suggested that Foxe wrote that the king was ill-pleased with Bonner and Cavendish, whom he had already recalled two or three times. Only a few days before Bonner had written to Dr. Adams suggesting that Foxe should know that Adams was not too ill to travel.<sup>181</sup> Adams was to be persuaded by a carefully organized plan that while Bonner and Cavendish had displeased the king, he would receive a good welcome in England.

Dr. Adams' instructions for his journey to England were drawn up by Bonner, Cavendish and Bernard à Mela together with the doctor himself, in such a way that his suspicions would not be aroused. At the end of January Dr. Adams wrote to Bonner suggesting that Cavendish and he could draw up the articles of the instructions which could later be corrected by Bonner. The articles were given to Bonner on 6 February when he drew up a list of comments on them.<sup>182</sup> The articles were finally written about 15 February.<sup>183</sup> Adams'

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181. ibid., ff.112, 161a.

182. ibid., ff.155, 202a.

183. The articles were finally written by Bonner himself: B.M.: Cotton, Nero, B.iii, f.94 (L.P., X.24), although Dr. Adams had written the draft: B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.193-202. These instructions were dated 3 January 1536 in the Calendar and after 14 February by Wegener, op.cit., iv, p.34. It is clear that Adams sent the draft to Bonner on 14 February: B.M.: Add. Ms.48036, f.192.

instructions were first of all to describe the events of the Diet in Hamburg, and the terms of the peace between the Duke of Holstein and Lübeck. He was to stress the Imperial danger in Denmark, and to discuss the fate of Wullenwever. At least half of his instructions were recommendations from Bonner, Cavendish and à Mela about Sweden, and their proposals for its conquest. They declared that an army was necessary which could be conscripted with money which they instructed Dr. Adams to seek from the king. If they were successful, and they would make no attempt unless they were sure of success, the king would have Sweden. Dr. Adams was to stress that the greatest danger lay in delay.

On 15 February Bonner, Cavendish and à Mela wrote a strong recommendation for Dr. Adams to the king, which, on the following day, was revised in even more fulsome terms.<sup>184</sup> Bonner and Cavendish also wrote to Cromwell on 22 February recommending the learning and sincerity of Dr. Adams and advising that he should be treated with no common favour.<sup>185</sup>

Five days before they had written to Cromwell that "that matter/ that ye know of, that we are now in v(er)y good &/ in man(ner) assured hope it wyll com(m)e to passe and/ to declare unto yow o(n)<sup>r</sup> op(i)n(i)ons we v(er)ylie thinke/ that if for x or xii dayes or longer as shalbe/ seen unto you the ma(n) ye woot of".<sup>186</sup> But Adams did not leave Hamburg until 29 February. He

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184. ibid., ff.159, 116.

185. L.P., X.342.

186. B.M.: Add. Ms.48036, f.118.

had been afraid to go by land, and had hoped to wait until the Elbe was unfrozen and he could travel by sea.<sup>187</sup> He was also anxious to see that his family was provided for before he left Germany, and he had to be sure that he himself was well enough to travel.<sup>188</sup> It was indeed with "great difficulty" that Bonner and Cavendish set him on his way to England.<sup>189</sup>

It is impossible to know exactly what fate had been planned for Adams when he reached England. On 18 March Lord Lisle reported from Calais that the English messenger Derick and another German had been taken in Flanders. On 1 April Cromwell was most anxious that Dr. Adams should be released but within three weeks he had lost interest.<sup>190</sup> Adams was executed in Flanders during 1537.

On 15 February Bonner and Cavendish wrote that as soon as the Elbe was unfrozen they would get shipping and leave for England. They were suspicious of the Duke of Luneburg's offer of a safe-conduct through his lands and feared the fate of Wullenwever if they were to travel that way. They were still in Hamburg on 20 March, but Bonner was at court by 27 April.<sup>191</sup>

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187. L.P. X.415; B.M.: Add. Ms.48036, f.190.

188. ibid., f.192. On 17 February Dr. Adams wrote to Bonner that he was so unwell that he could not set foot outside the house: ibid., f.187a.

189. ibid., f.124.

190. L.P., X.498, 601, 699. On 20 May 1538 Aepinus wrote to Cromwell from Hamburg asking that Dr. Adams' pension be continued to his widow and children: L.P., XIII(1).1038.

191. B.M.: Add.Ms.,48036, ff.114v., 112; L.P., X.748.

Bonner and Cavendish were sent to Denmark and Hamburg with instructions which were out of date by the time they arrived. They were sent to negotiate with men whose promises were extravagant but whose abilities and power were minimal. There was a heartfelt cry when they wrote "woolde to god as pore men may wysse, the kynges/ grace had had never to doo w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) ony of thies p(ar)ties", with these "stubble ca(n)ker(e)d/ unkynde churles".<sup>192</sup> Moreover, they had joined with them a man who had no sense of duty to them or to their king.<sup>193</sup>

Nevertheless they might have been able to bring their mission to a more successful close if their judgment of the men with whom they had to deal and of the complexities of the situation in which they found themselves had been more accurate. Bonner after six months in Hamburg, during which the Anglo-Lübeck schemes failed completely, could write to Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, that "co(n)-sidering the order/ & custome of ,,cities and townes in,, thies p(ar)ties, beyng that the nobles rule not but the meane & base p(er)sones/ the kings highnes cowde not have ,,had,, for the setti(n)g forthward of his g<sup>r</sup>(a)ces p(ur)pose suche me(n)/ in all thies p(ar)ties as george Wolwev(er), marc(us) mayer, & ther co(n)federats ,,were,,".<sup>194</sup> Bonner retained his trust in Meyer throughout his sojourn in Hamburg. On 8 December he argued persua-

192. B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, ff.108, 128v.

193. ibid., f.107v.

194. ibid., f.127.

sively and successfully before the Council of Hamburg for the release of Meyer's brother, Garrett.<sup>195</sup> Bonner and Cavendish wrote to Meyer on 22 February urging him not to despair at Wullenwever's capture and declaring that they believed that the king would shortly send help. Because they believed Meyer to be a "faythfull, lovyng, & trusting s(er)va(n)t to o(ur) said sov(er)eigne lord" they promised him on 8 March that they would promote his interests when they returned to England.<sup>196</sup>

The two English ambassadors showed little tact, and gave the impression that they were occupied in many secret negotiations. In the autumn they had been treated with respectful interest by the Diet, but after Christmas they could hardly learn what was happening between the Lübeckers and the Duke of Holstein. Not only did circumstances prevent them from pursuing Henry's original policy in Denmark, but they themselves did not make a new and constructive analysis of the situation. A complete reorientation of policy was necessary, but they did not give the king advice which would enable him to understand this, nor did they do enough to strengthen friendship between the king and the successful claimant in Denmark. Bonner's own cowardice and fear may have hampered him in the full execution of his instructions: he may have been right to mistrust the safe-conduct of the Duke of Holstein, but his action in allowing Cavendish to go alone to the duke is not easily explicable. During this embassy Bonner showed an aptitude for intrigue.

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195. ibid., f.84v. Marcus Meyer had sent his brother to Lübeck with two ships. On arrival the ships were arrested and Garret Meyer imprisoned: ibid., ff.58, 69.

196. L.P., X.343; B.M.: Add.Ms.48036, f.124; L.P., X.440.

## Chapter 6.

### At Charles V's Court, 1538.

In March 1538 Henry VIII learned with dismay of the approaching conference of the emperor, the Pope and the French King at Nice. The King of England had tried to act as peace-maker in the truce negotiations of Charles and Francis and it was deeply worrying to him that they both preferred the mediation of the Pope.<sup>1</sup> When France and the Empire were at war, or on the verge of war, England was often able to hold the balance between them, bestowing her friendship where she wished. Unless Henry were one of the principal parties to a peace between Charles and Francis, England would be isolated and, indeed, in danger.

At the beginning of April 1538 letters were sent to Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet-statesman who at that time was the resident English ambassador at the court of Charles V, announcing that Bonner and Dr. Simon Heynes were to join him.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Cromwell had been instrumental in Bonner's appointment to this embassy, but he was not in fact bestowing a position of great responsibility on his protégé.

Bonner and Heynes went to Charles V as experts rather than as

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1. L.P., XIII(i).562, 387, 447, 449.

2. L.P., XIII(i).671, 679.

general-purposes diplomats. Although Bonner had already served abroad three times and Heynes had joined Sir John Wallop in France in 1535, it was as a doctor of law and a doctor of divinity respectively<sup>3</sup> that Bonner and Heynes were originally sent to the emperor. They were instructed to declare to Charles V "the greatesier His Hieghnes hathe to thadvancement of the glory of God and of His most blessed woorde" and also the great love Henry had for Charles. The king's "learned council"<sup>4</sup> were first to demonstrate to the emperor how the Bishops of Rome had usurped power from princes and had "wrested scriptures to the mayntenance of their lustes, affectyons and glory".<sup>5</sup> For their arguments they were to look to the letter written by the Bishops of Durham and London to Cardinal Pole. Tunstal had written to Pole after reading the latter's De Unitate Ecclesiae, and his joint letter with Stokesley was a further skilled defence of the royal supremacy and a denial of the Pope's primacy in Christendom.<sup>6</sup> The treatises of

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3. L.P. VIII.1062. See also L.P. VIII.1086, 1148. Simon Heynes commenced doctor of divinity at Cambridge in 1531: see his biography in D.N.B.
4. G.F.Nott, ed., The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, ii, 1816, p.484 (L.P. XIII(1).679(2)).
5. Instructions of Henry VIII to Bonner and Heynes: St.P., viii, p.24 (L.P. XIII.695).
6. See C.Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstal, 1938, pp.207, 209-210. The letter of Tunstal and Stokesley was first printed in 1560, (bibliographical notes, ibid., p.210, note 1, and App. xxvi, p.391). In 1563 it was printed by Foxe in the Acts and Monuments: J.Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J.Pratt and J.Soughton, v., (1877), pp.90-99, and notes, pp.848-849. For an analysis of Pole's De Unitate, see W.Schenk, Reginald Pole Cardinal of England, 1950, pp.70-74.

"Doctor Adison" and others were also recommended to Bonner and Heynes.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, the two envoys were to present Henry's arguments against the emperor's participation in a General Council called by the Pope, using in the preparation of their arguments the formal protests which Henry VIII had made against the summoning of such a Council and books by Master Cole and Alexander Alesius.<sup>8</sup> Bonner had himself helped to write the protest which had been published by

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7. St.P., loc.cit. Thompson Cooper in the D.N.B., declared that John Addison, D.D., Fisher's chaplain, had written a defence of the papal supremacy about 1538 to which Tunstal and Stokesley replied. Tunstal and Stokesley may have written a joint letter to Addison, as well as to Pole, and Bonner and Heynes may have been referred to Addison's exposition of the papal arguments. But it is more probable that there was only one reply, that to Pole. Fisher's chaplain may not have had the strength of his master and by 1538 may have written an apologia for the Royal Supremacy. There is no trace of such a work by Addison or Adison in the Short-title Catalogue, and it is possible that it was never printed: A.P.Pollard and G.W.Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland... 1475-1640, The Bibliographical Society, 1926. On the other hand Addison's work may have been printed anonymously. The anonymous anti-papal work "A treatise concernynge generall counciles, the Bysshoppes of Rome, and the clergy" which was printed by Berthelet in 1538 and of which copies survive in Durham University and Lambeth Palace Library may possibly have been composed by Addison, but both Dr. G.H.Tavard and Mr. P.A. Sawada thought that it should be ascribed to Alexander Alesius: see Short-Title Catalogue, 24237, p.564. I am grateful to Mr. A.L.Doyle of the University Library Durham for information about this work.
8. The master Cole mentioned in this letter may be the Henry Cole who after equivocating in the reign of Henry VIII and in the first part of Edward VI's reign became a staunch supporter of the Marian regime, becoming Dean of St. Paul's in December 1556. See his biography in D.N.B. Alexander Alesius, born in Edinburgh about 1500, fled to Germany because of his Lutheran opinions. He came to England in 1535 and remained there until Cromwell's fall in 1540: See Alesius' biography in D.N.B.



Berthelet in 1537.<sup>9</sup> Henry VIII insisted that the Pope had no authority to summon princes to a Council. If such a power were admitted the Pope could justifiably claim the right to appoint and depose princes. The King of England may have believed that the academic arguments of his two scholars would influence the emperor to abstain from a General Council. But only practical considerations of his own position would determine the actions of Charles V.

Leaving London on 9 or 10 April 1538 Bonner and Haynes had reached Lyons before Easter Monday, 22 April,<sup>10</sup> and were installed in lodgings at Nice when the emperor and his train arrived at nearby Villafranca on 9 May. On his arrival Wyatt decided that Nice "was not meet (being full of the court of Rome) for our communication", and he would not rest until they found somewhere to live in Villafranca. On 10 May Bonner delivered to him the king's letter of 7 April. Within a week instructions written on 4 May arrived for the three ambassadors to the emperor.<sup>11</sup> Bonner and Heynes had two interviews with the emperor before Wyatt left Nice about 20 May and

9. See below, chap.12, p.414.

10. L.P. XIII(i).688, 756. On 25 April Thomas Thirlby wrote to Cromwell that the messenger Barnabe had arrived at Lyons on Easter Day, and on Monday "in the mornyng" gave Cromwell's letters of 15 April to Bonner, Heynes and Thirlby: P.R.O.: S.P. 1/131, f.218 (L.P. XIII(i).840).

11. L.P. XVI.640 p.305; Foxe, op.cit., p.157 (L.P., XIII(ii).144); See the endorsements of the letters of 7 April for the date of their delivery by Bonner: L.P.XIII(i).695(1), 710, 711; For the delivery of the instructions of 4 May see Wyatt's endorsement: "Rec. upon Friday 17 May 1538", L.P., XIII(i).915.

another at the beginning of June.<sup>12</sup>

To Piero Mocenigo, one of the Venetian ambassadors in Nice, Bonner and Heynes declared that they had come "per causa di esortar la pace",<sup>13</sup> and they resented Wyatt's attitude to them. In a letter to Cromwell Bonner complained that the ambassador and his secretary Mason represented that he and Heynes were not ambassadors, but had come "only to tell the emperor de potestate Papae et de Concilio, and having his answer to depart". Wyatt on the other hand considered that Bonner and Heynes were not sufficiently active while they were at Nice: "my Colloques/ thought y (a)<sup>t</sup> lyttell to be ther charge butt only to conv(er)te Themperor by ther lerninge".<sup>14</sup>

The king had originally instructed Bonner and Heynes that if the emperor were in favour of a closer alliance with him, his two scholar-diplomats were to act with Wyatt in accordance with letters

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12. Wyatt was present at the second interview of Bonner and Heynes with the emperor: L.P.XIII(II).270. On 6 June 1538, P.Mocenigo and G.A.Venier wrote to the Doge that Wyatt "é andato hoggi in posta al Suo Re": G.Turba and I.Stich, eds., Venetianische Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe (Dispacci di Germania), Herausgegeben von der historischen Commission der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, I, 1889, p.110. But Cromwell wrote to Bonner and Heynes on 8 June that Wyatt had arrived on 3 June, L.P., XIII(i).1146. Wyatt himself later declared that he had only spent twelve days at Nice before returning to England. Since the emperor arrived at Nice on 9 May: Turba, op.cit., p.20, Wyatt must have left for England on 20 or 21 May. See Wyatt's letter to the Council in March 1541: L.P. XVI.640.

13. Turba, op.cit., p.110.

14. L.P., XIII(ii).270; B.M.: Harleian Ms. 78, f.5v. (L.P., XVI.640, p.305).

sent to the resident ambassador. On 4 May Henry VIII sent instructions to Wyatt, Heynes and Bonner how they were to proceed in the new marriage negotiations which had been suggested by Castillon, the French ambassador in England. Henry VIII had been pursuing marriage proposals with both the French and the Imperialists, but the new plan for the marriage of Francis' son, the Duke of Orleans, and Princess Mary raised English hopes for a triple alliance.

Henry VIII wrote to his ambassadors with the emperor that the French King "doth moche desire it, As a moost/ certain meane bothe to the atteynyng of his purpose in Millan and/ the conclusion of an universal peace, supposing that Thempero<sup>r</sup>/ wolbe aswell content to geve the duche (i.e. Milan) w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) our said doughter/ consydering howe nere of bludd she is to hym, and howe mo(o)ch/ he hath(e) seamed to estime her".<sup>15</sup> If Francis I promised not to make peace with the emperor unless Henry were included as "principal contrahent", the English ambassadors with Charles V were to pursue the French proposals with the emperor.

Wyatt and his colleagues did not act on the French proposal. On 26 July 1538 Charles V wrote to his sister, Mary, Regent of the Netherlands, that as soon as he arrived in Villafranca the English

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15. For Castillon's proposals see L.P. XIII(i).623, 629, 814, 843; Henry's instructions of 4 May to Wyatt and his colleagues: B.M.: Harleian Ms. 282, f.54, (L.P., XIII(i).915). For previous marriage negotiations with the French and Imperialists in that year see L.P., XIII(i).583, 612, 640, 679.

ambassador "me fait tres grande instance pour le/ parfaict diceulx mariages", of Henry VIII with the emperor's niece, the widowed Duchess of Milan, and the Princess Mary with Luis Infant of Portugal. Milan was to be the patrimony of Mary and Luis.<sup>16</sup> Henry VIII believed that the emperor gave Wyatt firm assurances at Villafranca that he would send full powers for the completion of the marriages to the Imperial ambassadors in the Netherlands.<sup>17</sup> It is not clear whether the initiative at this stage of the Anglo-Imperial marriage negotiations was taken by Wyatt, before he received the instructions of 4 May, or by the emperor, anxious for an English alliance as long as the negotiations for a truce with France were incomplete. At all events Wyatt returned to England in the middle of May to clarify the emperor's proposals and to ask Henry VIII to "send absolute auctorite thider to finishe those thinges".<sup>18</sup>

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16. Vienna, Belgica, P.A., 35, ff.85r.-88r. See also the commission of Charles V to his sister to treat for the marriages with English representatives, dated 26 July 1538: L.P. XIII(1).1470.

17. L.P. XIII(ii).735, 923, 925.

18. Wyatt's report to Henry VIII, June 1538: St.P., viii, p.37 (L.P., XIII(1).1132). Wyatt was not recalled. Cromwell's letter of 16 April, L.P. XIII(1).780, recalling Wyatt belongs to the year 1539, not 1538. See the correction in the Calendar: L.P. XIV(1).782, and also Henry's remark that he was not displeased that Wyatt returned even though he had not received instruction to do so: L.P. XIV.(1).72. Wyatt arrived in England on 3 June 1538: L.P. XIII(1).1146, and was at Hythe on his return to the Emperor's court on 21 June: L.P., XIII(1).1227.

While Wyatt was in England Bonner and Heynes remained at Nice with John Mason and Sir Francis Bryan, one of Henry's ambassadors to Francis I.<sup>19</sup> On 8 June Cromwell wrote to Bonner and Heynes that Wyatt could not possibly return to Nice as soon as the emperor had requested. Taking Mason they were to tell the emperor that Henry took Wyatt's charge in good part and would send him back as soon as possible. Bonner and Heynes were to do no more than deliver this message;<sup>20</sup> the complicated marriage negotiations were in Wyatt's hands.

Amidst the ceremonies and entertainments of the French, Imperial and Papal courts at Nice,<sup>21</sup> the English ambassadors must have felt lost. To Mason, Nice was "the most doghole I think that be in the world". Wyatt, before he left for England, "trotted co(n)tynually/ up and downe th(a)<sup>t</sup> hell throughe heatt and stinke from councelloure to Embas/sator from on frende to another, but the thyngs then were ether so secretly/ handlede or yett not in

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19. <sup>(i)</sup> L.P., XIII, 1213. Gardiner, the resident ambassador to Francis I, and Thirlby, who had been sent to assist Gardiner and Bryan, remained at Aix throughout the conferences at Nice: L.P., XIII(1).1062, 1063, 1233.
20. R.B.Merriman, Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell, ii, 1902, p.144 (L.P., XIII(1).1146).
21. For descriptions of the conferences at Nice see L.P., XIII(1) 1019, 1165, 1213, 1221, Sp.Cal., V(ii), pp.480-490, and for an analysis of the negotiations see L.Staffeti, "La Politica di Papa Paolo III e l'Italia", Archivio Storico Italiano, 5th s., xxxiii, 1904, pp.53-95, esp. pp.82 sqq., using the reports in the State Archives at Florence, and C.Capasso, Paolo III (1534-1549), 1924, pp.462-533, esp. pp.487-510, relying mainly on Turba, op.cit.

cov(er)tore" that Wyatt despite his many connections and acquaintances could not "gett anye knowledge".<sup>22</sup> Bonner, Heynes, Mason and Bryan could only report the rumours they heard: they could neither prevent the conclusion on 18 June of the French-Imperial truce, in which England was not included, nor could they avert the decision that Charles and Francis should meet in person at Aigues Mortes in July.<sup>23</sup>

After the failure of their mission at Nice, Bonner and Heynes sailed with the emperor's fleet to Genoa where Charles had further conversations with the Pope. From Genoa the emperor returned to Aigues Mortes.<sup>24</sup> Sir Francis Bryan and Wyatt, who had returned from England when the emperor's court was "before Marseilles" on 12 July, were both present at Aigues Mortes,<sup>25</sup> probably with Bonner and Heynes in attendance. When the emperor finally returned to Spain, Wyatt, Bonner and Heynes sailed with him to Barcelona.

Bonner's embassy to the emperor in 1538 is interesting not only because of the nature of his instructions, but because of the light which it throws on his relations with his colleagues. Although

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22. L.P., XIII(1).1165; B.M.: Harleian Ms. 78, f.5v. (L.P., XVI. 640, p.305).

23. L.P., XIII(1).1211; Turba, op.cit., p.180. For a description of the meeting at Aigues Mortes see the extract from the memoirs of D'Archambaud de la Rivoire: L.Cimber and F.Danjou, Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France, 1st. s., iii, 1835, pp.27-33.

24. L.P., XIII(1).1355, 1374. Although the emperor had seen the French Queen at Nice he did not meet Francis.

25. L.P., XIII(ii).615(1); L.P., XVI.640; L.P., XIII(1).1404.

he differed greatly from Simon Heynes in his education and early career, in 1538 Bonner co-operated well with this Cambridge theologian, who in 1532 and 1533 had been vice-chancellor of his university. Their paths were later to diverge greatly for in 1543 Heynes, who had been dean of Exeter since 1537,<sup>26</sup> was examined by the Privy Council for his "evil opinions", and for three months was imprisoned in the Fleet for his "lewde and seditious preaching and the sowing otherwise off many eroniws opinions". He may have conformed, for in 1546 he was set to argue with the heretic Crome in an endeavour to persuade the latter to recant. In Edward's reign, however, the contrast between these erst-while colleagues became more marked. From 1549, until he died in 1552, Heynes co-operated with the government, serving on the commission to the dioceses of the West Country in 1547 and as a visitor to Winchester and Oxford two years later. In 1549 and 1550 he was one of the commissioners to enquire into heresies.<sup>27</sup> All this was, however, in the future: in 1538 Bonner and Heynes were friendly associates united in their service to Henry VIII. Heynes lent Bonner 100 marks before he left him to return to England.<sup>28</sup> In a letter to Henry VIII Bonner declared

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26. See the biography of Heynes in D.N.B.

27. L.P., XVIII(1).283; A.P.C., 1542-1547, p.151. See also L.P. XVIII(1).280, 299, 310, 477; L.P., XXI(1).790; D.Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, iv, 1737, p.17; C.P.R., 1548-1549, pp.251, 406; C.P.R., 1549-1550, p.347.

28. Foxe, op.cit., p.151 (L.P., XIII(11).269); L.P., XIII(11).131.

that Heynes deserved the king's thanks, for when he left Spain Heynes had received no reward from the emperor, and continued "I have not been acquainted with a more honest true man, and sorry I am now to leave his company, saving that I know well he hath been troubled upon the sea, upon the land and among dishonest folk".<sup>29</sup>

With John Mason and Sir Thomas Wyatt, however, Bonner's relations were not as good. Mason, who was acting as Wyatt's secretary in 1538, had been educated at Oxford and had later travelled extensively in France, Spain and Italy.<sup>30</sup> At the end of Henry's reign Mason was clerk of the Privy Council and in the reigns of both Edward VI and Mary he maintained his position as a leading statesman. His moderation and caution made him useful to Elizabeth and from 1560 until his death in 1566 he directed much of the foreign policy of England. Bonner distrusted and disliked this astute and clever man. Sir Thomas Wyatt, poet and diplomat, was a cousin of Anne Boleyn. He had been arrested in May 1536 with Norris, Brereton and Rochford but he was not brought to trial. Bonner may have met Wyatt before he was associated with him in 1538, for Wyatt was a friend of Cromwell, and probably received his appointment in March 1537 as resident ambassador with the emperor through the minister's influence.<sup>31</sup>

29. L.P., XIII(ii).59.

30. See the biography of Mason in the D.N.B.

31. P.Friedmann, Anne Boleyn A Chapter of English History 1527-1536, ii, 1884, p.262. Cromwell wrote to Wyatt in October 1537 that he would be his friend so that his enemies, if he had any, would gain little by his absence: L.P., XII(ii).870; L.P., XII(i).637.



When Mason returned to England in September 1538<sup>32</sup> he was charged with having been in treasonable correspondence with Cardinal Pole. He was examined by Cromwell, the Duke of Suffolk and Bishop Tunstall<sup>33</sup> but the charges were dropped. On 2 September Bonner had written to Cromwell that Mason was "as glorious and as malicious a harlot as any that I know, and withal as great a papist where he dare utter it", and in a long letter to his patron on 15 October he reiterated and enlarged upon his complaints.<sup>34</sup> He had heard from Cromwell's secretary "gentle Mr. Solyman",<sup>35</sup> that Mason had confessed to the "fact and word" of the charge against him but had excused it as having been done at Wyatt's command. Bonner declared that Mason had spoken to Cardinal Pole not only at St. Denis but also at Villafranca when Wyatt was in England. Even if Mason had received Wyatt's command to talk to Pole "yet a notable faulte this was, aswell then/ <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ mr. wyat, as in Mason, in that neyther of theym advertised the kings highnes/ or your lordeship thereof, & by their faulte app(er)eth what good co(n)siderac(i)ons they had// Surelie, surelie, hereis but a cloke for the rayne...". If Mason

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32. Mason took letters from Valladolid to France about 14 September 1538: L.P., XIII(ii).348.

33. L.P., XVI.641, p.307.

34. L.P., XII(ii).270, p.108. Bonner to Cromwell, 15 October 1538: P.R.O.: S.P.1/137, ff.203-204 (L.P., XII(ii).615(1). The Calendar omits much of this letter).

35. Thomas Soulement (Soleman, Solyman), probably a native of Jersey, became French secretary to Henry VIII before October 1532. In 1537 he became one of Cromwell's secretaries: see his biography in D.N.B., G.R.Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government, 1953, p.306.

had spoken to Pole in innocence, why had he not told Bonner what "w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) his often speking (he) hath gotten out of poole"? It is possible that the charges against Mason had been initiated because of Bonner's complaints. Bonner himself admitted that he had heard that certain merchants in London "take the trowble of mason to procede of me, bycause (as they saye) grudge/ & displeasure hath been heretofore bytwene us ij. I knowe right well (oonless y(ou)<sup>r</sup>/ good lordeship procede after your accustomed dextritie and highe wisdom(e) that/ this mason com(m)i(n)g abroad & beying at large will w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h)out fayle vante & bost hy(m)self/ to be faultles, & matters to have been layed agayn hy(m) by me maliciouslie & wro(n)gefullye..."

When Wyatt returned to England in 1539, Cromwell<sup>36</sup> asked him to ignore the affair of Mason's examination, in which he had been implicated.<sup>37</sup> In November 1539 Wyatt was again sent to the emperor with Mason as his companion.<sup>38</sup> In January 1541, however, Bonner's complaints against both Mason and Wyatt were re-examined. In that month Richard Pate deserted his post as resident ambassador with the emperor when "secret intelligence" between him and "a personage of Cardinal Paoul" was discovered. Pate's flight occasioned an

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36. In his "Defence" in 1541 Wyatt said that "at my coming home the Earl of Essex desired me to let it pass as cleared well enough"; L.P., XVI.640, p.310. Tate succeeded Wyatt in Spain in April 1539: L.P., XIV(i).744.

37. Wyatt heard from Charles V's minister, Granvelle, that he was implicated in Mason's examination: L.P., XVI.640.

38. On 13 November 1539 the French ambassador in London wrote that Wyatt was starting for the French court and would thereafter reside with the emperor: L.P., XIV(ii).628. Mason was with Wyatt in December 1539: L.P., XIV(ii).628.

intensive investigation in England of possible traitors.<sup>39</sup> On 17 January 1541 Wyatt was arrested and couriers were despatched to recall Mason who had left England at the end of the previous month. Mason was sent to the Tower as soon as he landed, and on 21 January the Privy Council sent letters to Bonner and Heynes to bring their depositions concerning Mason before the Council on the following day.<sup>40</sup>

Wyatt's letter to the Council and his famous Defence "to the judges after the indictment and the evidence" make it clear that the accusations against both him and Mason were based on Bonner's letters to Cromwell in the autumn of 1538. In his denunciation of Wyatt, written in September 1538,<sup>41</sup> Bonner declared that at his second interview with the emperor Wyatt had discouraged him greatly saying that he and Heynes could do no good; nor did he ask Charles V to hear them further. Wyatt was very secretive: when he was in England he wrote to Mason of his favourable reception by

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39. L.P., XVI.449, 467, see A.F.Pollard, Henry VIII, 1951, p.322. As well as the search for traitors an attempt was also made in 1541 to secure the downfall of Cromwell's adherents. The resurrection of the accusations against Wyatt and Mason were probably occasioned, however, by Bonner's charge that they had had correspondence with Pole, and not by their association with Cromwell.

40. L.P., XVI.354, 461, 473, 474, 482.

41. L.P., XIII(2).270, (printed by J.Bruce, "Recovery of the lost Accusation of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Poet, by Bishop Bonner", The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review, n.s., xxxiii, pp.563-570)

Henry and the Council, but he did not want his secretary to show his letter to the other ambassadors. Nor, on his return, would he tell them of his conversations at Marseilles and Barcelona.

Bonner did not believe that Wyatt had fulfilled Henry's instructions in July 1538 to object to the emperor on three points: the non-inclusion of the English King in the truce with Francis, the commencement of marriage negotiations between the Imperialists and the Papacy, and the emperor's agreement to treat for a General Council.<sup>42</sup> On St. James's Day, Bonner complained, Wyatt had accompanied the emperor to a nunnery where the feast was kept, "taking with the Emperor all the way and often after such a merry sort and fashion that expostulation was turned to oblivion". Wyatt did not attempt to rebut Bonner's charge that he had made himself pleasant to the emperor, remarking only that he had always thought the king "ether shulde sende for (sic) Imbassadours suche/ as he trustethe or truste suche as he sendythe".<sup>43</sup> From the letter of Charles V to his sister, the Regent, written on 26 July 1538,<sup>44</sup> it is clear that Wyatt had executed Henry's commission forcefully and

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42. There is no trace of Wyatt's instructions of July 1538, except for the flyleaf, dated 12 July: L.P.XIII(1).1364, of a letter from the king to Wyatt no longer extant. From the Emperor's letter to the Regent of 26 July 1538 it is clear that Wyatt was commanded to make complaints to Charles on these three subjects: Vienna, loc.cit.

43. B.M.: Harleian Ms.78, f.6v. (L.P., XVI.640, p.306).

44. Vienna, loc.cit.

fully. The ambassador may have gilded his arguments with pleasant words but he did not avoid his invidious task of expressing Henry's complaints to the emperor.

Wyatt concentrated on the charges that he had had treasonable conversations with Pole, and that he had rudely denounced the king's policy. Denying that he had ever received letters from Pole, he declared that he had once suggested, when he and his secretary had been at dinner with Bonner and Heynes, that Mason should "Insinuat hym selffe dissimblynge w(i)th Pole to sucke/ sume thyng worthy of knowledge in these great matters". Bonner and Heynes had "bothe thought yt go(od)/ and Masone was content to assaye yt when he shülde se tyme and occasione". Mason had "gotten occasion to entre w(i)th Pole" while Wyatt was in England, and declared that he had written all he had discovered to the Lord Privy Seal and to the ambassador. Indeed Pole himself believed that the ambassador was planning his murder.<sup>45</sup>

In September 1538 Bonner wrote to Cromwell that on the day "we came from Barcelona" Wyatt, angry that Henry VIII would not "roundly" accept the emperor's marriage proposals, had said "By God's blood ye shall see the King our master last out of the cart's arse". Wyatt replied that if he had ever used such a phrase it would have been to Mason, and that at all events he would not have

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45. B.M.: Harleian MS.78, ff.6, 6v. (L.P. XVI.640, p.305); see the letter of Pole to Contarini, 22 September 1539: L.P., XIV(ii).212.

spoken in the future tense at Barcelona, for "after Nice and Villafranca and Aquas Mortes the king was left out of the packing indeed". His words at Barcelona had been: "'He is left out of the cart's arse, and by God's blood he is well served and I am glad of it'".<sup>46</sup>

Bonner accused Wyatt of grumbling that the king had first put him in the Tower and then made him an ambassador but Wyatt said he had never imputed his imprisonment to the king. Sir Thomas denied that he had ever treated Bonner and Heynes without courtesy and honour: "I know no man that did you dishonour but your unmannerly behaviour, that made ye a laughing stock to all men that came in your company and me sometime to sweat for shame to see you". Bonner in his letter to Cromwell had declared that Wyatt "lived viciously among the nuns of Barcelona...and Mason and other of his house spend upon harlots on the other side...". When he went to England Wyatt had left Bonner to pay his sixteen servants and provide meals for all his acquaintanc.<sup>47</sup> Wyatt retorted that most of the nuns were gentlewomen who talked with the ladies of the emperor's court, and with the ambassadors of Ferrara, Mantua and Venice as well as to himself. There had never been harlots at his table, "None but, for your (Bonner's) pleasure, the woman that was in the galley...the gentlemen took pleasure to see you

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46. L.P., XIII(11).270; L.P., XVI.641, p.308.

47. Bonner's letter to Cromwell of (August) 1538, complaining against Gardiner: Foxe, op.cit., p.157 (L.P., XIII(11).144).

entertain her, therefore they made her dine and sup with you: and they liked well your look, your carving to Madonna, your drinking to her, and your playing under the table...the fat little priest were a jolly morsel...".<sup>48</sup>

To Bonner's accusation that "being in Spain, I was run away to the Bishop of Rome", Wyatt retorted that the king and Council knew the danger he had risked with the Inquisition for speaking against the Pope. In February 1539 the Papal Nuncio in Spain reported Wyatt's complaints against the Inquisition, remarking that the Inquisitors were acting nobly and might succeed in driving the English ambassador away.<sup>49</sup>

Bonner's animosity did not result in any lasting punishment for Wyatt. When the charges against them were resurrected in 1541, Wyatt and Mason were imprisoned for about three months, but were pardoned on 21 March. In the following September Mason was sworn clerk of the Privy Council. In December 1541 Wyatt was knight of the shire for Kent and in the New Year was appointed bailiff of the royal manor of Southfrith Kent and granted the manor of Bayhall near Tunbridge Wells.<sup>50</sup>

By 1538 Bonner had had considerable diplomatic experience, and it is possible that Henry really believed that he could persuade the emperor of the iniquity of papal claims of sovereignty. During

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48. L.P., XVI.641, pp.309-310.

49. L.P., XVI.640, p.304; L.P., XIV(1).142, 561; L.P., XVI.641 pp.308-309.

50. L.P., XVI.678(41); L.P., XVI.1211; L.P., XVII.71(24).

the months he spent at Nice and Barcelona Bonner seems, however, to have spent most of his time brooding over the behaviour of Wyatt and Mason rather than attempting to obtain frequent interviews with the emperor. Jealousy of his colleague's superior status at the Imperial court may have provoked Bonner's irritation and inspired his accusations. The clash of temperaments between the English ambassadors would have been irritating but unimportant if Bonner had not magnified minor incidents into accusations of treachery. Bonner's conduct while he was at the emperor's court in 1538 showed that he was more interested in keeping Cromwell's attention and support than in trying to co-operate and work with his colleagues.



## Chapter 7.

### Resident Ambassador at the Court of Francis I, 1538-1540.

The understanding between the emperor and the French King, which had been sealed by their meeting at Aigues Mortes in the middle of July 1538,<sup>1</sup> left England dangerously isolated. To disturb the new alliance between Valois and Hapsburg was henceforth the chief aim of English foreign policy.

Stephen Gardiner had been the English ambassador in France for three years. Henry VIII had been angered by his conduct of English affairs there<sup>2</sup> and he may have blamed him for failing to prolong the enmity between Francis and Charles. On the other hand it is possible simply that he felt that it would be wiser to initiate new policies in France with a new ambassador. At all events on 23 July the king revoked his three ambassadors in France Gardiner, Sir Francis Bryan and Thomas Thirlby. To replace them he sent a commission to Bonner,<sup>3</sup> who was about to leave Barcelona to travel back to England through France.<sup>4</sup> Bonner believed that

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1. See above, chap. 6, p.177.

2. For Gardiner's activity in France from 1535 to 1538 see J.A. Muller, Stephen Gardiner and The Tudor Reaction, 1926, pp.73-75. For Henry's complaints against Gardiner and Bryan see L.P., XIII (ii).77.

3. L.P., XIII(1).1440.

4. Bonner and Heynes left Barcelona on 29 July and reached Montpellier on 2 August where they met Francisco, the royal courier, with Bonner's commission: L.P., XIII(ii). 59.60.

Cromwell had been responsible for his appointment as resident ambassador at the court of Francis I, and it is probable that Cromwell was only too anxious to tighten his control over the conduct of English foreign policy by replacing his rival, Gardiner, with his protégé, Bonner.<sup>5</sup>

Bonner's embassy to Francis I opened with one of the most violent quarrels of his career. Gardiner, who could remember the day when Bonner had been little more than Wolsey's messenger,<sup>6</sup> was probably profoundly irritated to be superseded by him. Gardiner's colleague, Thirlby, declared that "the tragedy betwene him and thElecte of Hereforde was very yll handeled on (his) side; for at the first meeting my Lord of Winchestre called him fole".<sup>7</sup>

Although Bonner complained that Gardiner "having private hatred against a man, will rather satisfy his own stomach and affection...than...give familiar and hearty counsel...to him that he taketh for his adversary",<sup>8</sup> yet at Bonner's request, put in the form of a series of articles, Gardiner drew up some instructions

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5. See above, chap.3, p.67 . An example of the animosity existing between Gardiner and Cromwell at this time can be found in Cromwell's letter to Gardiner of 24 April 1538: L.P., XIII(1).832.
6. See above, chap.2, p.60.
7. St.P., viii, p.52 (L.P. XIII(11).442).
8. J.Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J.Pratt and J.Stoughton, v, (1877), p.159 (L.P., XIII(11).144).

for his successor on the situation in France.<sup>9</sup> In this report Gardiner's irritation with Bonner was not disguised. In his reply to the first, third, fourth and fifth articles, Gardiner analyzed existing Anglo-French treaties, described how English diplomacy in France had attempted to prevent a General Council and to secure England's inclusion in the peace, and discussed the progress of Anglo-French marriage negotiations. In these answers Gardiner gave Bonner a factual account of the relations between England and France. But to the second article "What thing is juged to be a good meane to avance and to wel set forth the same (i.e. the king's affairs)... and what is lyke to hindre or hath been hinderance to the same?", Gardiner began to patronize his colleague. He declared "thambassado(u)r resydent useth always wyth moderacion, afre a good facion and with dexteryty...". Gardiner implied that Bonner had never undertaken diplomatic negotiation before: "youe cannot use noo better meane thenne wysely, diligently, and cyrcumspectly to followe and observe such instruccion as shalbe prescribed from the Kynges Hieghnes...forseyng alwaye that ye comen no further thenne your commyssion woll beare youe,...Be neyther in comunicacion

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9. ibid., and Bonner's endorsement on Gardiner's instructions: "The copie of the Byshop of Wynchesters answers made to my requestes, delyvered to me at Vieronne (i.e. Vierzon) xx<sup>o</sup> Augusti", J.Muller ed., The Letters of Stephen Gardiner, 1933, p.91. Muller printed Gardiner's instructions to Bonner in full from the copy once in Bonner's possession, now in Inner Temple, Petyt Ms. 47, ff.353-364, ibid., pp.81-91.

to sharpe, wherby youe shold exasp(e)rate them, ne duller in language thenne the cace shal requyre". Gardiner gave Bonner detailed instructions as to how he should conduct himself at his first audience with Francis, and told him how he should obtain further interviews with the French King. Bonner had asked Gardiner from whom he might "have the most intelligence of the state of thinges here". Gardiner replied that since all men came to him with news and information, he had had no need of special informants. Gardiner named no-one who might be particularly useful to Bonner, and having uttered a warning on the guile of other ambassadors at the French court, ended his advice with the irritating comment: "I fynde this by exp(e)rience, that the knowledge of matyers dependeth more upon a comp(a)racion in judgement, by exp(e)rience what hath been doon, what is lightly and wer reasonable, thenne uppon any reaport".

Bonner's identification with Gardiner's rival, Cromwell, made him unsure of the reception he would receive when he met the Bishop of Winchester.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately there was a practical issue to arouse the anger of both men. When Henry VIII revoked Gardiner and his colleagues, he charged Thirlby to deliver to Bonner the king's plate which he had in his custody and "you, my lord of Winchester, shall furnish him with all such other stuff as shall be necessary for him". Although it was not unusual for a departing

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10. See above, chap.3, p.66; L.P., XIII(11).60.

ambassador to give or sell his impedimenta to his successor,<sup>11</sup>  
 Gardiner refused to carry out these instructions from the king.

Bonner first met Gardiner on 7 August at La Barella "a post this side Lyons". According to Bonner's version of their quarrel, Gardiner suggested that they should go for a walk in the fields together. When they were alone Gardiner immediately turned to Bonner, saying "'ye shall have nothing of me: marry, ye shall have of Master Thirleby, his carriage, mules, his bed, and divers other things that he may spare'". In reply to Bonner's expostulation Gardiner declared that his successor would need no 'napery', that his own mule-cloths had his arms upon them and that "'my raiment (I being bishop), that is not meet for you'". In the course of their argument Gardiner upbraided Bonner for his mean living in Spain, and declared that he would not depart until Bonner was better equipped to undertake this embassy. Bonner's final retort to Gardiner was "'...ye shall never make me think that ye are desirous to do me pleasure, neither for mine own sake, nor for the king's: for if your words be well weighed I have as much of you indeed for mine own sake, as I have for the king's sake: that is, nothing at all'".

In the evening of the same day Gardiner, in order that Bonner should "lay no blame" on him, offered to provide him with "'mules,

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11. L.P. XV.186, 343; L.P., XVI.196; Foxe, op.cit., p.153  
 (L.P., XIII(1).1441).

mulets, horses, servants, money; yea, and all things that shall be necessary'". Bonner would not be conciliated; he declared that the Bishop's offer had come too late, since he had already sent his servant to Lyons to "make provision".<sup>12</sup>

Gardiner's patronizing tone in his instructions and his initial refusal to give Bonner linen, clothes or horses do not fully explain why Bonner wrote a long letter of complaint against Gardiner to Cromwell. Bonner did not only recount in the greatest detail his quarrel with Gardiner, he complained of Gardiner's behaviour to him in 1532 and 1533 and at Nice in May 1538, and reported that Gardiner was very displeased at being recalled and "ever coveted to protract the time" before he should return. Furthermore Winchester "cannot be content that any, joined in commission with him, should keep house, but to be at his table". Either Gardiner desired men to think that only one of the king's ambassadors could keep such a table, or he had "an evil intent and purpose". Bonner mentioned Gardiner's extravagances and his failure to encourage Frenchmen "which, with his pride, caused them to disdain him, and to think that he favoured not the French king, but was imperial". Gardiner was in close communication with Mason, once again described by Bonner as "as naughty a fellow, and as very a papist, as any that I know". The Bishop's nephew, wrote

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12. ibid., pp.154-155, 158. See also Bonner's letter to Cromwell of 18 August, Inner Temple: Petyt Ms. 47, f.7 (L.P., XIII(II). 131).

Bonner, was "ever busy in showing the king's letters to strangers".<sup>13</sup>

Not only did the new ambassador in France send Cromwell a copy of Gardiner's instructions to him, but he faithfully reported Gardiner's anguish on hearing the news of Bonner's promotion to the bishopric of Hereford. Gardiner "cast down his head,...and afterwards lifting up his eyes and hands (as cursing the day and hour it chanced), seemed so evil contented...taking it...very heavily; semblably he doeth every thing that is or may be for my preferment". Wyatt may not have been far wrong when he declared that Cromwell had set Bonner to spy on Gardiner.<sup>14</sup> The Lord Privy Seal knew Bonner's nature, and may have hoped that in his zeal to curry favour the newly appointed bishop would produce some evidence which would seriously incriminate Gardiner.

On 2 September 1538<sup>15</sup> Bonner wrote to Cromwell that Heynes on his return to England would be able to tell him not only of the activity of Wyatt and Mason but also of Sir Francis Bryan. Bryan, soldier, diplomat and poet, was a permanent favourite as well as a close friend of Wyatt. Bonner complained that the week "'Master Brian and his servants were with us at Villa Franca, it cost my companion and me five and twenty pounds in the charges of the house!'"<sup>16</sup>

13. Foxe, op.cit., pp.159-160.

14. ibid., p.152 (L.P., XIII(2).261); ibid., p.159; L.P., XVI.641, p.310.

15. L.P., XIII(2).270.

16. See the biography of Bryan in D.N.B.; Foxe, op.cit., p.157.

Financial loss may have motivated Bonner's accusation that Bryan had concealed the king's letter from Gardiner, and misinterpreted Henry's instructions. Cromwell's antagonism to Bryan may have preceded Bonner's embassy, but the Lord Privy Seal probably used his protégé's reports to stimulate Henry's irritation with Bryan on the latter's return to England.<sup>17</sup>

Although Thomas Thirlby had been a friend of Gardiner since their days at Cambridge,<sup>18</sup> his sympathies seem to have been with Bonner rather than with the Bishop of Winchester when he witnessed their quarrel. Thirlby also lent Bonner 100 marks before he returned to England, and unlike Gardiner made no demur at giving him the royal plate as the king had ordered.<sup>19</sup> Bonner may have known Thirlby before he met him in August 1538. Not only was Thirlby connected with Cromwell, but Bonner and he were both doctors of law and it is probable that they had come across each other in the course of their legal work. The two men were to be closely associated on many occasions in Mary's reign.<sup>20</sup>

Although Gardiner had given him no useful advice how he

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17. L.P., XIII(ii).210, 280, see also L.P., XIII(ii).1163, L.P., XIV(i).37.

18. Muller, Stephen Gardiner, op.cit., pp.74, 290.

19. L.P., XIII(ii).442, Foxe, op.cit., p.151, L.P., XIII(ii).130, 131.

20. L.P., VII.257, see the biography of Thirlby in D.N.B.



should collect information, Bonner seems to have had no difficulty in learning gossip,<sup>21</sup> if not news, from the other ambassadors accredited to Francis I. The bishop obtained news from the ambassadors of Venice and Gelders, and the secretary of the Count Palatine. On one occasion he was able to report news given him by a former servant of his old colleague, Sir Gregory Casale.<sup>22</sup> With the ambassador of Ferrara, Sacrati, Bonner seems to have been on particularly good terms. Bonner told Sacrati secretly of his interview with the French King in the middle of March 1539, and showed him letters from Cromwell. On 13 July Bonner gave Sacrati copies of certain new English statutes.<sup>23</sup> For a friend of the Portuguese ambassador, whom Bonner described as "a righte honest ma(n) & desirous alwayes to do me pleas(ure)", Bonner wrote to Wriothsley for a licence to export hawks from Ireland.<sup>24</sup> Bonner no doubt had more than one "secrete frende", such as the acquaintance who gave him Italian news in December 1539. On one occasion Cromwell, excusing to Henry VIII Bonner's negligence in writing, suggested "by all lykelyhod he loketh and taryeth for his mens

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21. Bonner frequently padded his letters with gossip from the French court, mentioning the tilts or describing the appearance of the king; St.P., viii, p.108 (L.P., XIII(ii).993), ibid., p.237 (L.P., XV.115).
22. B.M.: Cotton, Caligula, E.11, f.256 (L.P., XIV(i).1247); L.P., XIV(ii).762; L.P., XIII(ii).639; L.P., XIV(ii).46.
23. Letters of Sacrati, Ferrarese ambassador in France to the Duke of Ferrara, of 13 April, 13 July and 25 August 1539; Modena, Francia b.15.
24. P.R.O.: S.P.1/154, f.318 (L.P., XIV(ii).318).

arrayvaill From Avygnon, and other plac(es) wher(e) yo(ur) pleas(ure) was he shuld have a vigilant eye".<sup>25</sup>

Bonner had also a number of useful servants. He wrote to Cromwell on 6 December 1538: "If I doo not goo myself, I doo continuallie send oone that I love and trust, called William Honnyng, unto the cowrte, to marke, see and heere what is doon and spoken ther". Since Bonner wrote to Cromwell in the following March asking for the use of a secretary such as William Honnyng "as I shall suppose & take to be very trustie & assured", the latter may not have served the Bishop throughout his embassy in France. Honnyng was sent to England at least once to discharge business there for Bonner.<sup>26</sup> The six surviving reports from Honnyng to Bonner show clearly how useful his secretary was to the ambassador. He delivered letters to the Constable and arranged Bonner's lodgings, reported new arrivals at the French court and discussed the marriages and health of important courtiers. He related to his master all the rumours he heard and the information he could gather. In December 1539 when all the ambassadors had

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25. B.M.: Cotton Caligula, E. iv, f.21v (L.P. XIV(ii).762); Merriman, op.cit., ii, p.219 (L.P., XIV(i).834).
26. St.P., viii, pp.108-109 (L.P., XIII(ii).993); P.R.O.: S.P.1/144, f.46 (L.P. XIV(i).450). Since Honnyng wrote Bonner a report on 12 March, it is probable that Bonner's letter to Cromwell six days before was to ask for confirmation of Honnyng's appointment with him, or to ask for a secretary of his calibre; P.R.O. S.P., 1/150. f.184 (L.P. XVI(i).831).

been told to leave the French court, Honnyng was able to provide Bonner with elaborate descriptions of the Emperor's arrival at Loches and his entertainment by the French queen at Amboise.<sup>27</sup>

Bonner had known Honnyng since 1535, if not before, and was employing him by August 1538. It was due to Wriothesley's recommendation that Honnyng was in Bonner's service and for love of his friend the bishop treated his secretary with kindness.<sup>28</sup> Originally from Norfolk, Honnyng had a distinguished government career after his service with Bonner. He was granted reversion of the office of one of the clerks of the signet in 1541 and in April 1543 was sworn clerk of the Privy Council. In 1547 he was M.P.   for Winchester and in 1553 for Orford.<sup>29</sup>

27. Reports from Honnyng to Bonner: 23 February 1539, P.R.O.: S.P. 1/143, f.152 (L.P., XIV(1).355); 12 March, P.R.O.: S.P.1/144, f.97 (L.P., XIV(1).510); 27 August, P.R.O.: S.P. 1/153, f.68 (L.P., XIV(1).92); 13 December, B.M.: Cotton, Caligula E. iv, f.24 (L.P. XIV(1).686(3)); 2 reports of 14 December, ibid., ff.26v. and 27 (L.P., XIV(1).686(4,5)).
28. In a letter to Thomas Serle in February 1536 Bonner asked to be recommended to Honnyng, so he must have known him before he left England in August 1535: L.P. X.313; On 9 August 1538 Bonner wrote to Cromwell that Honnyng had as good a nature as any he had known, and was "like to doo well in all co(n)dicions": Inner Temple, Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.3; See Honnyng's letter to Wriothesley of 29 April 1539: P.R.O.: S.P.1/151, f.148 (L.P. XIV(1).888).
29. "Description of a Picture of the Family of Honing", Collectanea Topographica & Genealogica, vii, 1841, p.394; L.P., XVI. 1308(28); L.P., XVIII(1).450, 623(41); I am grateful to Miss Pat Hyde for information about Honnyng which she acquired while compiling his biography for the History of Parliament.

The English ambassador also received reports from Edmund Style, an English merchant living in Rouen, and John Bekynsaw, an English student in Paris. Style, besides forwarding letters and books for Bonner, was at Loches and Amboise with Honnyng in December 1539 and sent Bonner reports of the ceremonies there.<sup>30</sup> Bonner's agent was Warden of the Company of Grocers in 1553 and 1563.<sup>31</sup> John Bekynsaw, reported conversations and rumours and forwarded letters to Bonner. Before Bonner sent a picture to Lord Lisle, the Deputy of Calais, in July 1539 he asked Bekynsaw to give his opinion of "the anatomy of the woman".<sup>32</sup>

Nor did Bonner lack messengers or servants. Not only George Briggs,<sup>33</sup> but also Nicholas Fellow, Calais-Pursuivant and Norroy King of Arms, took letters and messages to England. For Fellow, Bonner besought Cromwell to "bere your most good favour and benyvolence...I cannot want him without my gret hinderaunce...".<sup>34</sup>

30. B.M.: Cotton, Caligula E. iv, ff.22, 23v (L.P., XIV(ii).686 (1,2)); L.P., XIII(ii).993; P.R.O.: S.P. 1/144, f.7 (L.P., XIV(i).416); John Bekynsaw also sent letters to Lady Lisle at Calais via Style: L.P. XIV(i).892, 1150; see also Foxe, op.cit., p.411.
31. W.W.Grantham, List of the Wardens of the Grocers' Company from 1345 to 1907, 1931, pp.19-20.
32. P.R.O.: S.P. 1/144, f.165 (L.P. XIV(i).593); L.P., XIV(i).1080; P.R.O.: S.P.3/2, f.39; For an outline of Bekynsaw's career see his biography in D.N.B.
33. See above, chap. 1, p.40.
34. P.R.O.: S.P.1/144, f.37 (L.P., XIV(i).445). St.P., viii, p.173, (L.P., XIV(i).451); see also Bonner's letter to Wriothesley of 12 October 1539 in favour of Norroy: P.R.O.: S.P.1/154, f.19 (L.P., XIV(ii).318 and note).

As well as taking letters from Bonner to Cromwell, the merchant Thomas Barnabe, Cromwell's servant and Wallop's brother-in-law, pleaded the English ambassador's need of money to the Lord Privy Seal and arranged his letters of exchange.<sup>35</sup>

His old friend Thomas Serle probably managed Bonner's English affairs, keeping the bishop informed of his transactions with frequent letters. Richard Lechmere and the servant Gough may have managed the household in France.<sup>36</sup> Bonner's activity in France was never hampered by lack of assistants.

Having been presented to Francis I before the end of August 1538, Bonner followed the French King from Bourges to Paris at the beginning of September.<sup>37</sup> In October he was at Compi gne for the meeting, postponed from the previous month, of Francis I with Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands. Although the Imperialists emphasized that the meeting was for the mutual entertainment of the two princes, persuading the English ambassadors that it was "but a

35. J.Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, 1(i), 1822, pp.562-564; L.P., XIII(i).781; L.P., XIII(ii).188, 640. Barnabe also wrote reports to Wriothsley and Cromwell of events in France: L.P., XIV(ii).132, 679. Bonner wrote to Henry VIII and Cromwell for money and Barnabe arranged the payment: L.P., XIV(i).450, 620, P.R.O.: S.P.1/146, f.277 (L.P., XIV(i).709).
36. In his letter to Wriothsley of 12 October and in his letter to Cromwell of 30 September 1539 Bonner remarked that Serle had been writing often: P.R.O.: S.P.1/154, f.19 (L.P., XIV(ii).318), P.R.O.: S.P.1/156, f.7 (L.P., XIV(ii).763); L.P., XIII(ii).348; L.P., XIV(i).409. For Serle and Lechmere, see above, chap. 1, p.23, chap.2, p.44.
37. Bonner was presented to Francis I at some date between 18 August and 2 September 1538: L.P. XIII(ii).130. 269.

matter of banquet",<sup>38</sup> Henry VIII was suspicious of French and Imperial intentions. Sir Thomas Wriothesley and Bonner's old colleague, Edward Carne, were sent to assist Stephen Vaughan in the marriage negotiations with the Imperialists, and Sir Anthony Browne, courtier and diplomat, was hurriedly despatched with Sir Thomas Seymour to join Bonner at the court of Francis I.<sup>39</sup>

When Browne was sent to Francis I in September 1538, he probably became the senior English ambassador at the French court.<sup>40</sup> Bonner may have known Sir Anthony before his journey to France in 1538. Certainly their acquaintance continued, for in 1540 Bonner was believed to have asked Browne to persuade the king to procure

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38. Wriothesley's letter to Cromwell of 1 October 1538: L.P., XIII(ii).506. See also L.P., XIII(ii).277, 575, 635.

39. Sir Thomas Wriothesley was at Calais on his way to the regent's court on 29 September 1538: L.P., XIII(ii).432. Carne arrived at Compi gne on 16 October: L.P., XIII(ii).640. Bonner served with Carne in Rome in 1532 and 1533, see above, chap. 2, p.60, chap. 4, *passim*. Sir Anthony Browne was at Dover on his way to Francis' court on 27 September: L.P., XIII(ii).442. Bonner dated a letter to Cromwell, in which he remarked that Browne was on his way to England, 20 September: P.R.O.: S.P. 1/138, f.208 (L.P., XIII(ii).398). It is possible that Bonner misdated that letter, for it is unlikely that Browne went from France to England and back again in less than a week, and there is no evidence to suggest that Browne was in France before the end of September. Browne complained to Cromwell on 17 October that he and Seymour had been sent abroad very suddenly: P.R.O.: S.P. 1/137, f.227 (L.P., XIII(ii).641).

40. In Wriothesley's instructions Henry VIII ordered him to acquaint "Sir Anthony Brown, knight, His Majestes Ambassadors with the Frenche King" with the progress of the negotiations in the Netherlands, but no mention was made of informing the resident ambassador in France: St.P., viii, p.46 (L.P., XIII(ii).419).

a benefice for his nominee.<sup>41</sup> During their embassy in 1538 they worked together without discord, writing joint letters to the ambassadors with the Regent and to England, and co-ordinating their activity.<sup>42</sup> Of Browne, Bonner wrote to Cromwell that he knew "the great trouthe, diligence,/ fidelite & honestie that is in this beyrer...In the faith/ of an honest ma(n) my good lord I like his co(n)dic(i)ons & proceedings/ w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) that sobre and discret fashion..." Browne for his part told Cromwell how Bonner had "unhorsed" himself lest he and Seymour should go on foot. Cromwell had acted when Bonner accused Mason, but had dismissed his charges against Wyatt; on this occasion he gave little heed to Bonner's estimate of Browne, but declared that Sir Anthony, like a "glorieux coquart", had mixed his private quarrels with the affairs of his commission. Cromwell accused Sir Anthony of allowing his anger at his meagre reception in France to hinder the friendship of Henry VIII and Francis I.<sup>43</sup>

Cromwell's criticism of Browne would have applied equally well to Bonner. On 17 October Browne and Bonner wrote to Henry VIII

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41. P.R.O.: C.1/1007/25.

42. P.R.O.: S.P. 1/137, f.82 (L.P., XIII(H).521); L.P. XIII(H).550; St.P., viii, p.61 (L.P., XIII(H).557; P.R.O.: S.P. 1/137, f.226 (L.P., XIII(H).640).

43. P.R.O.: S.P.1/136, f.208 (L.P. XIII(H).398; P.R.O. S.P.1/137, f.227 (L.P., XIII(H).641); L.P., XIII(H).748, 1163.

that they had had to look for their own lodgings at Compi gne since none had been provided for them by Francis' officials. Bonner had already written to Cromwell how poorly he and his companion were lodged at St. Quentins\*. On 17 October Bonner wrote again to the Lord Privy Seal declaring that he and Browne bore the "stra(n)genes, ye & great unkyndenes" shown to them as well as they could "thoughe it be not moost pleasaunt to us". Although Bonner hesitated to write more fully lest he should be accused of harbouring a private grievance "whiche p(er)case might hynder our/ enformation giffen & made in other the kings matt(er)s", he had made his attitude to the French quite clear. But, for the Lord Privy Seal, Bonner could do no wrong, and Cromwell retained his confidence in this "modest and true ambassador".<sup>44</sup>

Sir Anthony Browne failed in his embassy to Francis I. He may have been instructed to negotiate a French marriage for Henry VIII, or to propose an alliance with the French king for war against the emperor.<sup>45</sup> Browne probably had a specific charge,

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44. P.R.O.: S.P. 1/137, f.226 (L.P., XIII(II).640); St.P., viii, p.62 (L.P., XIII(II).557); P.R.O.: S.P. 1/137, f.224 (L.P., XIII(II).639); L.P., XIV(i).37.

45. Browne's instructions have not survived. On Bryan's attempts in July and August 1538 to further an Anglo-French marriage see the report of Scepperus to the emperor: L.P., XIII(II).277. For the rumour that Henry wanted to make an alliance of war with Francis I see the report of 10 November 1538 from the Imperial ambassador in Rome on his conversation with the recently arrived French ambassador to the Pope: L.P., XIII(II).794.



although he may have been sent to Compi  gne with no more than general instructions to support Bonner. On 7 October Bonner reported to Cromwell from St. Quentins that Francis showed great coldness "albeit, my good Lord, it is taken for a policie to tempre and moderat woordes and doynge emonges great Princes, to kepe theym in amitie: yet...we cowde doo no lesse...but shewe and write...(that) We have been very unkyndelie handeled here". Bonner was particularly disturbed because the French would not tell the ambassadors "of their procedinges". Ten days later Browne wrote to Cromwell that he had still not been able to obtain an answer from Francis. None of the French King's Council would see him or Bonner, although every day many of them rode past their windows.<sup>46</sup> When he learnt of the unsatisfactory reception Browne had had at the French court Henry VIII ordered him to return, leaving Bonner to receive any answer Francis might give.<sup>47</sup> Seymour probably returned to England with Browne.<sup>48</sup>

Bonner and Browne joined Wriothsley and Vaughan, Henry's ambassadors with the Regent of the Netherlands, about 10 October, and until Browne's departure from Compi  gne with Bonner, the four

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46. St.P., viii, p.62 (L.P., XIII(ii).557); P.R.O.: S.P.1/137, f.227 (L.P., XIII(ii).641).

47. L.P., XIII(ii).642, see also L.P., XIII(ii).735.

48. No further mention of Seymour is made after Browne's return to England.

ambassadors acted in concert.<sup>49</sup> Wriothsesley, like Bonner, owed his rise to Cromwell, and Bonner may have met him before October 1538. Whenever their acquaintance began Wriothsesley soon became Bonner's "singuler good frende". In April 1539 Bonner sent two quilts as a present for Wriothsesley's wife, declaring "if ther be any thing elles/ wherin I may doo your pleasure or s(er)vice, ye/ shall not be soo glad to will it, as I shalbe glad/ to do it".<sup>50</sup> Although it is unlikely that Stephen Vaughan joined Bonner and Richard Cavendish in Denmark in 1535 Bonner probably knew this friend and personal servant of Cromwell.<sup>51</sup>

About 12 October Henry wrote to Wriothsesley and Vaughan that Sir Anthony Browne was "to resorte unto her Court, and to make unto Her, as on our behalf, our most hartye commendacyons; lyk as at his commyng he shall declare unto you". The king's instructions for Browne's approach to the regent presupposed that she had not yet spoken to Francis. After considering together Browne and Bonner

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49. On 7 October Bonner and Browne were at St. Quentins: L.P. XIII (H).557; three days later Wriothsesley and Vaughan were there, and Francis and the regent had met: L.P. XIII(H).581. On 21 October Wriothsesley, Vaughan and Carne wrote to Henry VIII, sending their letter by Browne: L.P., XIII(H).667. Bonner left Compiègne with Browne: L.P. XIII(H).690.

50. Thus does Bonner commend himself to Wriothsesley in a letter to Lord Lisle, 12 October 1538: P.R.O.:S.P. 3/2, f.41 (L.P., XIII (H).1033). For an outline of Wriothsesley's career, see A.F.Pollard's biography of him in the D.N.B., and Elton, op.cit. pp.307-312. Bonner's letter to Wriothsesley, 22 April 1539: P.R.O.: S.P. 1/150, f.184 (L.P. XIV(1).831).

51. See above, chap. 5, p.132 ; Elton, op.cit., pp.77, 110, 197, note 2,

consulted Wriothesley and Vaughan. They decided that Bonner should remain in his lodgings to avert Francis' suspicions, while Browne, under cover of paying his respects, went with Wriothesley and Vaughan to declare the king's letters to the regent. Although Browne failed to obtain an audience on 16 or 17 October, Wriothesley and Vaughan wrote on 17 October that they hoped to present Browne to the Regent within a few days. On 21 October, when Wriothesley wrote to Cromwell that Browne on his return would describe the progress of the English negotiations with the regent, he mentioned that she had been pleasant to Sir Anthony. Browne's interview with the Queen of Hungary did not prevent her agreement with Francis I on 23 October to additional articles to the treaty of Nice.<sup>52</sup> Bonner did not participate greatly in the negotiations with the Regent at Compi  gne, but his colleagues might have spared their endeavour: They could neither weaken the French-Imperial alliance nor prosecute the Anglo-Imperial marriage negotiations which were to drag on until the following March.

During the winter of 1538-1539 Bonner was much occupied with

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52. St.P., viii, p.71 (L.P., XIII(H).589; P.R.O.; S.P. 1/137, f.226 (L.P., XIII(H).640); L.P., XIII(H).635, 668. No detailed report of Bonner's activity at Compi  gne survives. If Bonner's letter to Cromwell dated 20 September, L.P. XIII(H).398, belongs to October, then the absence of reports is explained. Bonner said in that letter that Browne would report in person everything they had done: L.P. XIII(H).680.

the printing of the "Great Bible" in Paris. Cromwell was the promoter of this new translation of the Bible into English,<sup>53</sup> which, edited by Coverdale, was based on the "Matthew Bible" of 1537, and revised with the aid of Sebastian Munster's Latin translations. It would have been possible to print the Bible in England, but as Bonner declared to the French Council in February 1539, "les caracteres d'impression estoient plus beaux & meilleurs à Paris qu'en Angleterre ny ailleurs, & que les Imprimeurs y estoient plus diligens & plus certains, & le papier meilleur & plus propre à imprimer". The Paris firm of François Regnault, which had supplied service books for the English market until 1534, was chosen to print the "Great Bible."<sup>54</sup> The English printers, Grafton and Whitchurch, may have borne the main cost, although Cromwell declared that he had paid two thousand crowns towards the new edition.<sup>55</sup>

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53. J.F.Mozley, Coverdale and his Bibles, 1953, p.201.

54. A.W.Pollard, Records of the English Bible The Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525-1611, 1911, p.17. Pollard and Mozley differ in their interpretation of the story of the printing of the "Great Bible" in Paris. Pollard believed that the interference which halted the printing in Paris, was based on political not on theological motives, whereas Mozley argued that religious opposition to the project in England, France and from the Pope, determined Francis to stop the printing and to refuse permission for the confiscated Bibles to be returned to England. See also the letter of the Bishop of Ivrea, Papal Nuntio in France, to Cardinal Farnese, 9 December 1538: Rome, Vatican, Francia la, ff.185-185v, A letter from de Montmorency to Castillon of 25 February recorded Bonner's remarks to the Council: G.Ribier, Lettres et Memoires D'Estat, i, 1666, p.388. Part of this letter is printed by Mozley, op.cit., pp.320-321. The Calendar omits much of this letter: L.P., XIV(1).371. Cromwell gave the same reasons for the choice of Paris: L.P. XIII(1).1163.

55. Mozley, op.cit., p.202. Cromwell told Castillon on 31 December 1538 that he had got the Bible printed at his own cost: L.P. XIV. (1).37. See also L.P. XIII(1).1163.

During most of 1535 Grafton stayed in Paris with Coverdale to see the "Great Bible" through the press.

On 23 June 1538 Coverdale and Grafton, who had been in Paris at least since May, wrote to Cromwell asking "to be defended from the Papistes by your Lordshipes favourable letters;...ether to the Bysshop of Wynchester, or to some other, whome your Lordship shall thinke moost expedyent". The printers may have hoped that a letter from Cromwell would ease their way with the French authorities but it is possible that they needed a defence against Gardiner. Many Englishmen were against the "Great Bible", for later in the year Edward Whitchurch wrote to Cromwell that he would inform him of those of his countrymen who had complained of the Bible to the university of Paris.<sup>56</sup> Gardiner's replacement by Bonner may have removed one source of opposition to the English translation of the Bible.

On 16 November 1538 a proclamation was issued whereby the importing, sale and publication of books in England was prohibited unless some of the Privy Council "or other such as his highnes shall appoynte" had examined and licensed them. Even when a special licence was obtained the words "ad imprimendum solum" were to be added to the imprint "cum privilegio regali [REDACTED]". As soon as he received a copy Bonner communicated this proclamation to Grafton.

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56. L.P., XIV(1).1; St.P., 1, p.576 (L.P., XIII(1).1249); P.R.O.: S.P. 1/140. f.124 (L.P., XIII(1).1086).

Since it would give "occasyon to the enemyes to saye, that yt is not the Kynges acte or mynde to set yt (i.e. the "Great Bible") forth, but only lycence the prynters to sell soche...", Grafton told Cromwell that he did not think the words should be added. Grafton and Coverdale could never be sure how far support for their enterprise would extend, and indeed Cromwell probably refused to interfere with the pbraseology of the licence of the "Great Bible".<sup>57</sup>

Although the French King had given Grafton and Whitchurch permission to print the Bible in Paris, the Inquisition could always intervene under the phrase in Francis' licence that the Bible was to be printed without "privatas aut illegitimas opiniones".<sup>58</sup>

Although in August and September the progress of the printing seems to have been uninterrupted, on 7 October Bonner wrote to Cromwell "Of late ther is a stave made att Parys towchyng the printing of the Bible in Englishe, and sute made to the Great Mayster to provide for remedie therin; but as yet it is not obteyned". The opponents of the Bible failed to have the printing stopped in October, and on 1 December Grafton sent Cromwell "Of the whiche bookes, now beyng fynessed...the fyrst".<sup>59</sup> On 9 December, however, the Papal Nuntio

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57. The proclamation of 16 November 1538: L.P., XIII(ii).848, see A.W.Pollard, Shakespeare's fight with the Pirates, 1917, pp.6-7. Grafton's letter to Cromwell of 1 December: St.P., i, pp.591-592, see Whitchurch's letter to him of 17 December: P.R.O.: S.P. 1/140, f.124 (L.P. XIII(H).1086).

58. The licence was printed in J.Strype, Memorials of...Thomas Cranmer ii, 1840, App. xxx, p.756. It was not dated. Pollard, op.cit. p.14, dated it shortly after June, 1538. See also Mozley, op.cit., p.203.

59. St.P., viii, p.62 (L.P. XIII(H).557). See also the letter of Coverdale, Grafton and William Grey to Cromwell of 9 August: St.P., i, p.578 (L.P. XIII(H).58); St.P., i, p.591 (L.P., XIII(H).972).

in France wrote to Cardinal Farnese that despite the appeals of the English ambassador the French King would not permit this evil to be published in his kingdom.<sup>60</sup>

The Inquisitor-General for France cited Regnault and all who were engaged with him in printing the English Bible to appear before him on 18 December. He forbade them to continue further with the printing. Regnault probably appeared before the Inquisition, and the printed sheets of the unbound copies of the Bible were seized. This confiscation seriously delayed publication, although a certain number of Bibles and unbound sheets had already been sent to England.<sup>61</sup>

Throughout the winter Henry VIII and Cromwell were anxious to secure the return of the confiscated Bibles. On 1 January Francis I told Bonner that the Bibles would be returned. This promise was not fulfilled, and on 22 February the ambassador appeared before the French Council to argue the English case for the restoration of the Bibles. He claimed that the late chancellor, De Bourg, after considering the report on the "Great Bible" prepared by Peyrat, President of the Parlement,<sup>62</sup> had given permission for the  
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60. Vatican, loc.cit.

61. Mozley, op.cit., pp.205-207. The citation of Regnault: L.P.XIII.(H).1085, from a copy, B.M.: Cotton, Cleopatra E.iv, f.326, headed by Bonner, "The copie of the second citation & inhibition agaynst the prynter of the Englishe Bible" ; St.P., i, p.591 (L.P., XIII(H).972); L.P., XIII(H).1043.

62. L.P., XIV(i).37, p.19. Peyrat had probably been a member of the committee, first established by Francis I in 1531, which examined books on sale in Paris. This committee consisted of two representatives of the Parlement and two members of the faculty of theology of the university of Paris: see E.Armstrong, Robert Estienne Royal Printer, An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus, 1954, p.166.

Bible to be printed in Paris. Although the Constable admitted that Peyrat had inspected the Bibles, he declared that the President had found "plusieurs choses vicieuses et fascheuses", and they could not be released. De Bourg would never have given verbal permission for the printing, because it was necessary for doubtful works to be formally examined by the Court of Parlement. In order that Bonner should not suffer the shame and scandal of condemnation the Bible had not been submitted to such examination. Echoing Francis' comment to the Nuntio, the Constable declared that good things could be printed in France as in England, but the French would never allow bad things to be printed in their country. When Cromwell asked the French ambassador in England to secure the return of the confiscated books he had no more success than Bonner.

Since, however, the "Great Bible" probably appeared in April 1539,<sup>63</sup> it is possible that Bonner acted on a suggestion made to him by the Constable in his interview of 22 February. When Bonner told him that the decision to print the Bible in Paris had been taken because of the superior techniques and facilities of the

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63. Bonner interviewed the Constable on a Saturday, and since 23 February was a Sunday: L.P., XIV(1).348, the interview must have taken place on 22 February; Mozley, op.cit., pp.208-209, pp.320-321 (L.P., XIV(1).371); L.P., XIV(1).908, 1208. See also L.P., XIV(1).934, 974, 989 and P.R.O.: P.R.O.31/3/9(23); L.P., XIV(1).974, 1248, 1352. It is possible that the "Great Bible" was not ready until November 1539, for although it bore the month April on the title-page, arrangements about its sale-price were discussed in the following Autumn: L.P., XIV(1).517.



French printing houses, de Montmorency said that he would allow the type, the printers and the paper to be exported to England. However, Bonner cannot really be said to have gained many concessions from the French government during these negotiations. This was not necessarily his fault for Anglo-French relations were very strained at this time.

As well as presenting the English demands for the return of the Bibles, Bonner had the invidious task of seeking satisfaction of a number of English complaints. Henry VIII declared that members of the convent of Franciscans, known as Cordeliers, at Rouen had attacked him in their sermons. Although Francis told Bonner at the beginning of January that two Cordeliers had been imprisoned, the ambassador presented new demands to the French Council on 22 February. It was not enough that certain priests had been punished, it was necessary "prendre & punir tous ceux du Convent des Cordeliers de Rouen". The Constable, who considered such requests "incivils & déraisonnables", replied that the Archbishop of Rouen, in sending two more Cordeliers to the Chancellor for public reprimand, had done all that was possible. To lay hands on the whole convent "n'y avoit raison ny apparence". It would cause a general scandal and could not help the King of England.<sup>64</sup>

During January 1539 Bonner had "sued and proposed certayn

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64. L.P., XIII(H).1163; L.P., XIV(1).37; Ribier, op.cit., p.387.

articles" against another "slaunderose frere", the Burgundian Franciscan, Peter de Cornibus, and complained of him to the French Council.<sup>65</sup> On 22 February Bonner again denounced the preaching of de Cornibus, maintaining that what he had preached on St. Thomas' Day "estoit en detractiion & calomnie de son Maistre & de sa Nation, puis qu'il avoit en preschant jetté la veuë sur ledit Ambassadeur & nommé S. Thomas de Cantorbery".<sup>66</sup> Bonner had little success. Cardinal du Bellay, who had examined the friar, declared that his sermon had been the customary eulogy of St. Thomas the Martyr and contained nothing to offend the King of England. The Council evidently decided that de Cornibus should be summoned to confront the Bishop of Hereford "barbe à barbe". When Bonner accused the Bishop of Limoges of "aucunes paroles mal-sonantes" about Henry VIII, the French bishop was also summoned to the Council to answer Bonner, which, the Constable wrote, he did "honnestement & sagement."<sup>67</sup>

A more important matter than the preaching of the Cordeliers or de Cornibus was the projected visit of Cardinal Pole to the court

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65. St.P., i, p.593 (L.P., XIV(1).227); Peter de Cornibus, a doctor of theology of the university of Paris died in May 1541: J.C. Adelung, Fortsetzung...Jöchers allgemeinen Gelerhten-Lexicon, ii, 1787, col.469.

66. The treatment of the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury particularly shocked Catholic Christendom. The Papal Nuntio in France mentioned this in a letter to Cardinal Farnese of 8 October 1538 as an example of Henry's cruelty and of his infamous treatment of the Church in England: Vatican, Francia la, f.131. See also Pole's Apologia to Charles V, para. 23: L.P. XIV.(1). 200, p.81.

67. Ribier, op.cit., p.388.

of Francis I. In December 1538 Pope Paul<sup>1</sup> III sent Latino Juvenale to France and Cardinal Pole to Spain in order to persuade the French King and the emperor that the punishment of the King of England was the most urgent matter confronting Christendom.<sup>68</sup> About 23 February Bonner heard that Cardinal Pole was to journey from Spain to France to join the two monarchs firmly together in the papal plan, and also that Francis had sent a messenger to the emperor to arrange their joint publication of recent papal censures against Henry VIII. On 4 March Bonner received a letter from Wyatt, the resident ambassador in Spain, that Pole would shortly be on his way to France "to sollicite agaynst the Kyng our master. I suppose it shall be your office to make preparatyffe with the Frenche Kyng, to demaund hym accordyng to the tretes, that whilst ye receyve other advertysment from the Kyng".<sup>69</sup>

When he received Wyatt's letter Bonner wrote to Castillon, who had recently returned from England, asking whether Francis I and de Montmorency intended to receive "le seditieux et la plus ingrate personne du monde, assavoir le Cardinale Poole...". On the following

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68. The Pope's instructions to Juvenale: L.P. XIII(H).1136; The Pope's instructions to Pole: L.P. XIII(H).1110; See also Cardinal Farnese's letter: L.P., XIV(1).36.

69. L.P., XIV(1).355; St.P., viii, p.172 note 1 (L.P., XIV(1).353(H)); ibid., p.171 note (L.P., XIV(1).356); On 5 March Bonner said he had had news from Spain, and he had probably just received this letter from Wyatt which was written on 23 February.

day the English ambassador wrote to Cromwell, describing a conversation with Castillon. Bonner had been told that Francis "hereth nothing of the commyng of Cardinal Poole". When asked whether Francis would admit into his kingdom a traitor to his ally the King of England, Castillon would only answer that the French King "must studye to gratefye all partys".<sup>70</sup> On 7 March Bonner wrote to de Montmorency asking for an interview with Francis "touchant la venue/ de Cardenal poole quy com(m)e lon ma/dit sera ycy tantost po(u)<sup>r</sup> solliciter le/ Roy v(ot)re maistre contre le Roy mon sou(ver)eign". It was not until three weeks later that Bonner could write to Henry VIII that "after great anxiete" he had been received in audience by Francis I and had had "playne answer giffen". Francis declared that to Pole's request for permission to come to France, he had forbidden him to come nearer than Avignon.<sup>71</sup>

Bonner had not achieved a great diplomatic success in the French King's refusal to allow Pole to come to France. When Pole asked Charles V to execute the papal censures against Henry VIII, the Emperor had refused.<sup>72</sup> Charles V would do nothing without the participation of Francis, and he told the Venetian ambassador at the Imperial court that he would not declare war on England no

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70. St.P., viii, p.171 (L.P., XIV(1).446); ibid., p.171 (L.P., XIV(1).451).

71. B.M.: Cotton, Caligula, E, ii, f.252 (L.P., XIV(1).457); ibid., iv, f.1 (L.P., XIV(1).620).

72. L.P., XIV(1).761, 603. See also L.P., XIV(1).723.

matter how urgent were the pleas of Cardinal Pole. It is possible, as Henry VIII believed, that Wyatt's negotiations with the emperor resulted in Pole's discontented departure from Spain.<sup>73</sup> After Pole's failure with the emperor he needed new instructions from the Pope before he could travel to France: and he sent a messenger to Francis explaining his delay. Before giving an answer to Bonner, the French King had written to Pole that he approved of his intention to wait at Avignon until he received the Pope's answer. On 8 July Francis informed Pole openly that he did not think it was advisable for him to come to Paris, and in October the Cardinal returned to Rome. The failure of his mission to Francis was due not to the brilliance of Bonner's diplomacy at the French court, but to the French King's unwillingness to act against Henry VIII unless the emperor did likewise.

In the course of his embassy Bonner had to express royal and private complaints in mercantile matters. Although Cromwell had

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73. L.P., XIV(1).417, 560, 487. It has been suggested that the emperor refused Pole's request because he was reluctant to break with Henry: W.Schenk, Reginald Pole Cardinal of England, 1950, p.80. At the time the emperor was refusing Pole's request the Anglo-Imperial marriage negotiations in the Netherlands were collapsing as a result of the emperor's refusal to ally himself with Henry. The international situation was gradually becoming very tense. Rather than being reluctant to break with Henry, the emperor was anxious lest he find himself heading a crusade against England at an inopportune moment. It is possible that Wyatt emphasized this possibility to the emperor.

74. L.P. XIV(1).603, 536, 602, 1237.

already petitioned the French ambassador in England that licence be granted for the export of 2000 pieces of sailcloth from Brittany, on 23 February Bonner wrote to the Constable that a week had passed "que vous me/ voulez faire responce a ma requeste" for the licence. Bonner was unable to obtain a satisfactory reply from de Montmorency who pleaded scarcity in Brittany as an excuse for not granting the licence. It was not until the French ambassador in England wrote to his government that the English were able to obtain sailcloths from the Flemings that permission was given for their export to England from France.<sup>75</sup>

On 22 February Bonner sent to the French Council some private requests of English merchants, which were handed to the Master of Requests to consider. Francis I declared sternly that justice was administered to strangers as to his own subjects. If the merchants would put their demands or complaints in writing justice would be done as quickly as possible. In the case of two English merchants, Bonner's intercession with de Montmorency in February 1539 was unsuccessful. Robert Colte and John Over claimed that goods worth a "thussond pownds" belonging to them had been wrongfully detained in France. The English ambassador raised the matter again

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75. L.P., XIV(1).144; P.R.O.: B.P.1/143, f.149 (L.P., XIV(1).353(1)); Another letter from Bonner to the Constable of 23 February also includes a request for the licence: St.P., viii, p.172, note 1 (L.P., XIV(1).353(2)); P.R.O.: S.P.1/143, f.151 (L.P., XIV(1).354); L.P., XIV(1).1036, 1137, 1173, 1207.

in the following October, pressing the French King "tres instamment" to reconsider the decision against the two merchants. Francis replied that decisions in his courts were never revised. In Bonner's presence the king summoned two councillors of the Great Council "qui ont exposé les causes et raisons pour lesquelles lesdits Colt et Obert ont esté bien et justement condempnez". Later the two councillors took Bonner aside to explain to him more fully and to show him "toutes les pieces, instrumens et proceddures".<sup>76</sup>

Sometimes the French ambassador in London handled English mercantile complaints, and on one occasion Bonner interceded with Cromwell on behalf of a Breton merchant, Peter Tilley, who claimed to have been "despoyled of xxxj ton(n)e & a /pipe of wyne w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) other his goodes" by three Englishmen.<sup>77</sup> Neither the French nor the English ambassador specialized exclusively in the complaints of his own countrymen.

The most important mercantile case in which Bonner had to act when he was ambassador to Francis I was that involving M. de

76. Ribier, *op.cit.*, p.391; L.P., XIV(i).353(1); P.R.O.: S.P.1/151, f.230v. (L.P., XIV(i).1012); J.Kaulek, ed., Correspondance Politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre, (1537-1542), Commission des Archives Diplomatiques, 1885, p.141 (L.P., XIV(ii).411).

77. Marillac wrote to Francis on behalf of Thomas Benlier, owner of the "Mary Thomas" of Bristol: L.P., XIV(i).769. See also L.P., XIV(i).857, 883, 926, 1045; P.R.O.: S.P.1/140, f.24 (L.P., XIII(ii).978); Peter Tilley had been robbed by Englishmen in 1535, but had declared that he had never been able to obtain compensation: L.P., IX.560.

Rocheport, brother of the Constable. The English claimed the right to determine a dispute between some German merchants and de Rocheport over a prize-ship which, after a fight off the coast of Flanders, had been driven into Whitby.<sup>78</sup>

On 18 June 1539 Francis I sent a special messenger, Dampont, to Henry VIII to assert that the case should be remitted for trial in France. Although Francis had probably spoken to the English ambassador about the French claim for a "renvoy", Bonner angrily declared that he had not been informed that Dampont would be sent to England. But any grievance he may have felt on this point would not have affected negotiations during July 1539. Action in the case centred in England where it was first discussed by the Privy Council and then remitted to the consideration of certain "gens de lettres", Dr. Layton, Oliver Leigh, Hugh Ryvet and others.<sup>79</sup>

On 24 July Cromwell wrote to Bonner that the French ambassadors, certain of the Steelyard and the English lawyers had met to discuss Rocheport's claim. It appeared that "w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h)out the wrongng of the Osterling (i.e. the Germans) (and/ great p(re)iudice of the kings Iurisdic(i)on and evill example/ and consequent in tymes com(m)ing)" the king could not allow the case to be remitted to France. Henry did not trust the French ambassadors to give Francis

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78. See below, chap. 9, p. 235.

79. L.P., XIII(1).1236, 1134. See also L.P. XIV(1).1129, 1135, 1208, L.P., XIV(1).1261, 1301, 1310.



a true report of what had occurred, not to explain the reasons advanced by the English in the making of their decision. Both the king and Cromwell, who sent Bonner a précis of the doctors' opinion,<sup>80</sup> told the English ambassador to explain to the French King why Henry refused to accede to his wishes. In Cromwell's opinion the demand for revocation of the case to France was a denial of the King of England's jurisdiction. Since the king was an Emperor in his dominions, he could not lack authority, and the sentence pronounced by Bonner and the other lawyers in 1538 could not be "ipso iure nullam". Henry VIII did, however, propose that the case should be tried by fully authorized commissioners appointed by the two kings. "The expedient and menne whereof p(ro)posed/ ye shal amplifie to them shewing by such good reasons/ as ye canne excogitate howe they ought not onely to/ be contented therew(i)<sup>t</sup>(h), but also thankfully, to take and/ for a favo(u)<sup>r</sup> shewed unto them in that behalf".<sup>81</sup>

It is unlikely that Bonner was able to bring Francis to a just appreciation of the concession Henry was prepared to make in the Richepot affair. In October 1539 the French King wrote to his ambassador in England that he was astonished at Henry's lack of regard. The matter was again raised in December, but Cromwell

80. P.R.O.: S.P., 1/152, f.218 (L.P., XIV(1).1310); Three copies of the doctors' opinion are to be found in P.R.O.: S.P. 1/156, ff. 20, 29, 35 (L.P., XIV(H).779(1(v)). 779(4), 779(7))

81. P.R.O.: S.P. 1/156, f.21v. (L.P., XIV(H).779(2)). See also L.P. XIV(1).1311, 1315, 1316.

refused to allow the case to be revoked to France. Henry VIII sent instructions to Bonner to explain to the French Council the reasons for his refusal, and complained in his turn of Francis' failure to pay the Duke of Suffolk £8000 remain<sup>ing</sup> of the dowry of the late Queen Dowager.<sup>82</sup> On 30 December 1539 Bonner wrote to Cromwell that "the matter was debated in the hooll counsell, I openyng p(er)fectlie the same to the/ chanceler, (con)stable, & the rest...". Bonner sent Cromwell copies of two replies to his arguments which he had received from de Montmorency. Although Bonner did not think the Constable was as insistent upon his brother's claim as he had been, Francis' conviction that to accept the judgment of joint commissioners would be prejudicial to his honour gave little chance that Henry's compromise would be found practicable. Bonner for his part thought the French demands exorbitant: "they are soo unshamefull & unkynd w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h)all, that they think/ nothing ought to be to theym denied".<sup>83</sup> The estrangement of Henry and Francis during 1539 made the satisfactory solution of merchants' complaints and of Rochepot's claims very difficult. They in their turn excaberated the tension between the two kings.

Bonner occasionally sent home an analysis of the international situation as he saw it at the French court. Throughout his embassy

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82. L.P. XIV(1)/1346; L.P., XIV(II).411; L.P., XIV(II).655, 656; P.R.O.: S.P.1/156, f.35 (L.P., XIV(II).779(8)).

83. P.R.O.: S.P.1/156, f.9 (L.P., XIV(ii).764); L.P., XV.228.

the friendship of Francis I and the emperor remained firm. In 1539 the Constable's career was at its peak, and since de Montmorency was unwaveringly in favour of the Imperial alliance his supremacy held forth little hope for successful English diplomacy in France.<sup>84</sup> In January 1539 a new treaty was arranged between Francis and Charles in which each agreed to enter no new alliance with the King of England without the other's consent. In March, Francis confirmed the promises of peace and friendship which he had made to the emperor at Aigues Mortes in the previous July.<sup>85</sup> When negotiations were beginning in November 1538 for the new treaty between the French King and the emperor, Bonner reported to Henry VIII a rumour that Francis' ambassador had not brought the "comfortablest news" from Spain.<sup>86</sup> In England the ambassador's letter raised hopes that the emperor would soon become more friendly towards England. Bonner was not the only diplomat to misinterpret the international situation at this time. In the middle of December Cardinal Farnese thought that the negotiations for peace between France and the Empire were in an uncertain state.<sup>87</sup>

With the final collapse of Henry's negotiations for the hand

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84. F.Decrue (de Stoutz), Anne de Montmorency, 1885, p.358.

85. L.P., XIV(i).62; C.Weiss, ed., Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle, ii, Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France, 1842, p.533.

86. B.M.: Cotton, Caligula, E. iv, f.10 (L.P., XIII(ii).948).

87. L.P., XIII(ii).1070, 1088.

of the Duchess of Milan, relations between England and the Imperialist became so strained that many observers thought that Europe was on the verge of war. In March 1539 elaborate defence precautions were taken both in France and England.<sup>88</sup> There were rumours in Venice and Brussels that the French King, the emperor, and the King of Scotland were planning to invade England and divide Henry's kingdom between them,<sup>89</sup> and on 1 March Cromwell wrote to Bonner that because of the situation in the Netherlands and the rumour of an alliance of Francis, Charles and the Pope, Imperial and French ships in England were to be arrested. If Francis complained of this seizure to Bonner, the ambassador was to explain that it had been necessitated by the danger of pirates to English shipping. He was to assure Francis that the ships "littel and littel" would be delivered unharmed. Cromwell also asked Bonner "whether ye shal think the Frenshe King wold be our ennemy, if thEmperour wold declare Himself agenst us".<sup>90</sup> In Bonner's opinion the French would "travaile for o(u)<sup>r</sup> amitie but onelie for a visaige

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88. L.P., XIV(i).335, 365, 405, 440, 447; L.P., XIV(i).404, 418. Musters were held in England at various dates during the spring: L.P., XIV(i).652, see also Marillac's report of 2 April of English preparations: L.P., XIV(i).669.

89. L.P., XIV(i).449, 669; L.P., XIV(i).372, 433, 670. The rumour that Francis I, Charles V and the Pope had an alliance to invade England may have originated in a conversation of Francis with Latino Juvenale on 21 January 1539: L.P., XIV(1).62.

90. St.P., viii, p.158 (L.P., XIV(i).409).

& under/ the colour thereof to deceyve us..." "yf thiese men maye have ther desyres of thEmperour in any parte to ther contentation, it is not to be loked, that we shall have by ther amytye and frendshipp any thing to any gret purpose..." Bonner believed that it was advisable to take defence precautions "for I thinke after fayre wordes (onles necessytye enforceth them) we shall have small dedes of favour, and percace hinderance, yf they can".<sup>91</sup>

During the late spring and summer of 1539 the danger of war receded. Nevertheless Bonner's analysis had been accurate, for English diplomacy could not in any way disturb the friendship between Francis and Charles. In December and January 1538 -1539 Henry and Cromwell made great efforts to separate the allies, and in the following July Henry tried to involve Francis in an intrigue against the emperor in Italy.<sup>92</sup> Whether or not Cromwell was anxious for an Imperial alliance and Henry VIII for agreement with France their own preferences counted for nothing.<sup>93</sup> The fear of isolation left

91. P.R.O.: S.P.1/144, f.44 (L.P., XIV(i).449). St.P., viii, p.170 (L.P., XIV(i).451).

92. L.P. XIII(H).1120, 1162; L.P., XIV(i).51, 72, 144; L.P., XIV(i).1300, 1334, 1346, L.P., XIV(H).34, 84, 168.

93. It is difficult to distinguish Cromwell's and Henry's foreign policy, but there are a few indications that their hopes were different: On 14 May 1538 Castillon wrote that Cromwell was so suspect in the affairs of France that his opinion was not much asked: L.P., XIII(i).995. Henry seems to have veered towards the emperor in September 1538; but in December he was very anxious for friendship with France: L.P., XIII(H).280, 1120, L.P., XIV(i).72. Castillon's comment on 30 December that Henry VIII and Cromwell did not know what to do, L.P., XIII(H).1162, characterized English diplomacy throughout 1539. P. de Vaissière, Charles de Marillac Ambassadeur et Homme politique... 1510-1560, 1896, p.29, believed that Cromwell instigated the English attempts to renew the French alliance in July 1539, but from Marillac's letters of 23 July the initiative seems to have come from the king. L.P., XIII(i).1300, 1301.

them no alternative but to seek alliances with smaller European princes such as the Duke of Urbino or the Duke of Cleves.<sup>94</sup> Isolation may not have threatened such dangers as Cromwell and the king believed, but that fear determined English foreign policy in 1539.

Neither in January nor in July 1539 were the English negotiations to seduce Francis from the emperor made through Bonner. Although the bishop may have been informed of Henry's efforts, the English proposals were conveyed to Francis by the French ambassadors in England, first Castillon and later Marillac. Cromwell and Henry VIII may have preferred to negotiate through the French ambassador because of some doubt about the ability of their own ambassador to execute a commission which required tact and subtlety. Such qualities were not so greatly required in presenting English complaints to the French, or in explaining an English refusal to accept a French demand.

Bonner's own attitude towards the French lessened the chances of success in his task of conciliation. He complained that he was "co(m)pelled to lerne/ to dissimule, & to speke fayre what soo ev(er) I thinke, whiche by my trouthe/ my lorde is a great peane, wher the ava(n)tage cometh not to the sufferer",<sup>95</sup> although in

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94. L.P., XIV(i).77, 104, 884; L.P. XIV(i).103, 1193.

95. P.R.O.: S.P.1/144, f.44 (L.P., XIV(ii).449).

practice he did not hesitate to flatter Francis.<sup>96</sup> Bonner may have been somewhat slack in the performance of his duties at the French court. The Ferrarese ambassador, Sacrati, found Bonner's appearance at court and his attendance at mass on one occasion sufficiently noteworthy to record it in his letter to the Duke.<sup>97</sup> It is also possible that when Honnyng was in France Bonner did not go to court very often. Once Honnyng had to urge Bonner to come to court, for the Cardinal of Lorraine had been asking where he was.<sup>98</sup>

For their part the French may never have regarded Bonner very highly. Within six months of his arrival at the French court he was sternly rebuked by the Constable. Since the friendship of sovereigns depended mainly upon the reports of their ambassadors, de Montmorency told Bonner that these "ne doivent estre fondez, que sur une pure & simple verité: & ne servent de rien les particulieres affections...". The English ambassador should write to his king "ce qu'il entendoit de la bouche du Roy...car de ce lieu, il ne rapportera que des veritez, autres qu'elles ne se trouvent parmy

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96. See Wyatt's letter to Henry VIII in which he mentioned that Bonner had congratulated Francis on his recovery from an illness by saying that Henry's love for Francis was such that Francis' sickness was Henry's sickness "and that his amendment made ye whole again": Nott, op.cit., p.350 (L.P., XIV(ii).628).

97. Letter of Sacrati of 12 August 1539: Modena, loc.cit.

98. P.R.O.: S.P.1/144, f.97 (L.P., XIV(i).510).

les ruës & carre-fours des Villes, où les nouvelles ne sont bonnes à chercher par un Ambassadeur". In October 1539 Marillac wrote from England that Bonner was "de telle qualité,...qu'il ayme myeulx ung bon visaige que plus grands biens qu'on luy pourroit faire, et où il pence l'avoir eu aultre qu'il n'espéroit, il pence que tout soit perdu...".<sup>99</sup> The personal unpopularity of the English ambassador would increase the difficulties of his position in France.

Bonner's embassy to Francis opened under the shadow of the French-Imperial meetings at Nice and Aigues Mortes; it closed shortly after the emperor's journey through France on his way to Flanders. As early as April 1539 Francis was pressing the emperor to travel through France, and at the beginning of October he repeated his invitation.<sup>100</sup> On 18 October Bonner wrote to Lord Lisle that although he had heard rumours that the Princes would meet, he doubted whether Charles would go to Flanders unless matters "compelleth too sore". On 2 November Francis I wrote to Marillac in England telling him to inform Henry of the Emperor's approaching journey, and on the same day Bonner wrote "It is here taken for undoubted that the emperor goes by France into Flanders".<sup>101</sup>

Henry heard this news with fear and jealousy. Deciding that

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99. L.P., XIII(II).1451; Ribier, op.cit., pp.389-390. (L.P., XIV(I).371(1)); Kaulek, op.cit., p.140 (L.P., XIV(II).389).

100. L.P., XIV(I).767, 881, L.P., XIV(II).300, Weiss, op.cit., p.540.

101. L.P., XIV(II).353, 449, 448.



Bonner and Tate, his ambassador with the emperor, would not be adequate diplomatic representation in the face of this new French-Imperial rapprochement, Henry sent Sir Thomas Wyatt to the meeting of Charles and Francis. Wyatt was to obtain an audience with each of them to tell them how greatly Henry VIII rejoiced at their concord. More important than this pretence was Wyatt's charge to learn how things stood between Charles and Francis, and what each intended to do after the interview.

In his instructions Wyatt was commanded to consult with Bonner and Tate, but "in case the said Elect (i.e. the Bishop-elect of London) shall fortune to be out of the way, when the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall arrive at the place where the French King shall be, in that case the said Sir Thomas Wyatt shall repair alone to the said French King and supply the parts of both...". Bonner was again a junior partner to Wyatt, and there was no greater harmony between them than there had been at Nice.<sup>102</sup> On 16 December the ambassador extraordinary wrote to the king that he was sending a letter because Bonner wished to send a messenger with news of the ceremonies of the princes' meeting. Wyatt remarked that he had previously excused himself "of such matters of small importance to give your Majesty

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102. L.P., XIV(ii).508; Nott, op.cit., p.518 (L.P., XIV(ii).524).

trouble".<sup>103</sup> On 30 December Wyatt again wrote that to avoid keeping the king in suspense, Bonner was anxious to send a courier. Wyatt did not think that there was anything of importance to relate "unless he advertize other thing than we know of".

Wyatt left England about 27 November 1539.<sup>104</sup> Before travelling to Chateauherault to have an interview with the emperor on 11 December, Wyatt had audience with Francis I at Blois on 1 December. On his journey Wyatt had overtaken Bonner at Orleans, and told him of his instructions. At Wyatt's audience with Francis, the French King told the English ambassadors that he had found the emperor so reasonable that there was great assurance "of the performing of things that shall be to the common quiet of Christendom". Wyatt travelled to Amboise, and it is possible that he was allowed to remain at the meeting-place of the French King and the emperor, although Bonner, with the Nuntio and the other ambassadors, was commanded to leave.

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103. Nott, *op.cit.*, p.360 (L.P., XIV(ii).694). There are many descriptions of the emperor's journey through France. The English reports include a letter from Barnabe to Cromwell and the reports of Honnyng and Style to Bonner: L.P., XIV(ii).132, 686, see also L.P., XIV(ii).562, 739, Sp.Cal., VI(i), p.212 (L.P., XIV(ii).717), the report from the Vatican archives: P.R.O.: P.R.O. 31/9/66.1 and V.L.Bourrilley and F. Vindrey, eds., Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay, iii, Société de l'histoire de France, 1912, pp.449-451.

104. Nott, *op.cit.*, p.367 (L.P., XIV(ii).766). Wyatt was first reported to have left on 13 November, but on 30 November Marillac wrote that he had left three or four days before: L.P., XIV(ii). 508, 607.

On 2 December Wyatt wrote to Henry that Bonner still believed that the emperor and the French King would "make collusion", although he himself had begun to doubt this. On Christmas Day, Wyatt wrote that the emperor was not asking anything from the French but that the latter was very anxious for a close alliance. He had only conjecture to report but he advised the king to continue to expect the worst.<sup>105</sup> Five days later Bonner, after a description of the entertainments during the feast days, wrote that although the emperor could hide his affections, the French King could not. He also declared "better it is to fear the wurst & p(ro)vide against it". Bonner's analysis of the situation may have altered as a result of his own observations and Honnyng's report of 13 December that nothing new would be treated by the princes. But it is possible that the Bishop's views were influenced by conversations not only with Wyatt but also with Tate, who wrote to Cromwell on 30 December "Things pass in demonstration of great amity, rather than proceed to any conclusion".<sup>106</sup>

On 2 December Wyatt had written to Henry VIII suggesting that the king should send "some matter, if any be, or something that may seem matter, whereby, without suspicion we may often get access". Two weeks later Sir Thomas wrote that Robert Brancetour

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105. L.P., XIV(H).675, 628, 741. The draft letter to Henry VIII of 12 December was written by Wyatt. Originally he had written "I" throughout but later altered it to "we".

106. B.M.: Cotton, Caligula, E. iv, f.21 (L.P., XIV(H).762); L.P., XIV(H).686(3), 765.

was in the emperor's train, assuring the king: "it were for your service greatly to have him". It is possible that Wyatt had found in the appearance of this English rebel his excuse for frequent audiences. Brancetour was an Englishman who as early as 1529 had been at the emperor's court, and in March 1539 was serving Cardinal Pole. According to the treaties between England and France such a traitor should be delivered to Henry VIII. Wyatt hoped to trap Brancetour, but he was anxious to deal carefully in the matter lest he escape, or Francis refuse to deliver him.<sup>107</sup> At the beginning of January 1540 Bonner and Wyatt, after much difficulty, managed to obtain an audience with the Constable, who promised that the Provost should go with Wyatt to Brancetour's lodgings. When they went to arrest him, Brancetour declared that he was a servant of the emperor and the Provost carried him off to his own lodgings, refusing to let Wyatt have him. Wyatt decided to seek audience with the emperor's minister Granvelle, and Bonner had a further interview with the Constable. Despite all their endeavours, the ambassadors could persuade neither the French nor the Imperialists to deliver Brancetour. Although they declared that he was an English rebel, the emperor acknowledged him as his servant. Bonner was refused a third interview with the Constable

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107. Nott, op.cit., p.354 (L.P., XIV(2).628); ibid., p.361 L.P., XIV(2).694); L.P., VI.838; L.P., XIV(1) 462, 560.

"and even forthwith Brancetour was delivered and sent home to his lodging, without sending to us, or advising of any thing".<sup>108</sup> Wyatt's plan had failed, but the incident was not yet closed.

Bonner, possibly acting on orders from the king,<sup>109</sup> complained to Francis of his failure to deliver Brancetour. Francis wrote to Marillac that in an audience with him on 23 January Bonner had accused him of acting "totallement contre Dieu, raison et devoir, chose infâme, injuste et contre les traictez qui estoient entre sondict maistre et le roi de France". Furious at such insolence, Francis demanded of Henry that he should recall his ambassador. Henry disclaimed responsibility for Bonner's remarks, and both Francis and his minister agreed that Henry would never have wished his ambassador to express such sentiments, blaming Bonner for the

108. Nott, op.cit., pp.370-380 (L.P., XV.38).

109. When Wyatt protested to Charles V that Brancetour had not been delivered, he used, on Henry's instructions, the word "ingratitude", in describing the emperor's behaviour: L.P., XV.161. Henry VIII may only have planned to arouse the emperor's anger, in order to use it in evidence to Francis I that the emperor was aiming at universal monarchy: see the instructions to Norfolk: L.P., XV.145. Nevertheless it is possible that Henry VIII commanded both Wyatt and Bonner to complain to Charles and Francis respectively. Henry admitted to Marillac that he had told Bonner to enquire why Brancetour had not been given up: L.P. XV.154. It is also possible that Bonner was stimulated to expostulate in the language he used by a letter from Cromwell. When Francis I complained of Bonner's behaviour, Henry VIII could blame his ambassador for misinterpreting his instructions, but it is unlikely that Bonner acted without any instructions at all. Giovanni Baptista de Gambera, the Mantuan ambassador, reported that Bonner had originally told Francis that he acted on the orders of Henry VIII, but had later apologized for having said that he was fulfilling the king's commands, which was not true. De Gambera believed that Bonner was the scapegoat when Henry's complaint about Brancetour was so badly received by Francis. See G.B. de Gambera to the Duke of Mantua, 23 February 1540, Mantua, b.639.

whole incident. On 7 February Montmorency wrote to Marillac that Bonner "n'a pas seulement pour ceste heure failly en sa négociation, mais quasi ordinairement en toutes les autres qu'il a eu charge de conduire par deçà, feust avec la personne du roy, son conseil ou ses ministres, a faict de semblables ou non guères moindres erreurs, sans avoir aucun respect ne considération aux choses requises en ung bon ministre et ambassadeur...". Cardinal Farnese wrote that Francis could not bear the sight of the ambassador, and the agent of the Duke of Mantua spoke of the "gran coler" to which Bonner had reduced Francis.<sup>110</sup> Unfortunately Bonner's version of the incident has not survived.<sup>111</sup>

Wyatt's plan had indirect, but disastrous, results for Bonner. When Henry learned of Bonner's behaviour in France, he begged the French ambassador at his court to write to Francis that he was very angry with his ambassador, whom he promised to revoke. After conversation with Cromwell, the king was inclined to excuse his ambassador's behaviour. The French ambassador in London wrote that Henry hoped Francis would forget the affront "tant pour la

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110. Kaulek, op.cit., p.153 (L.P., XV.121); ibid., p.159 (L.P., XV.168); L.P., XV.178; Mantua, loc.cit.

111. St.P., viii, p.236 (L.P., XV.115). In a letter to Cromwell of 26 January Bonner did not mention his interview with Francis, which had probably described in letters of 24 January, now lost.

réputation de celluy qui l'avoit envoyé et pour ne donner mauvaise oppinion aux gens que le ministre ayt esté renvoyé comme par ignominye".<sup>112</sup> Francis, however, would not forgive Bonner's behaviour and insisted on his recall.

Just at the moment that a slight possibility arose that English overtures to France might be received more favourably than they had been for many months, Bonner had aroused Francis' wrath. Although de Montmorency was still in power in France, the French-Imperial alliance had not been strengthened by the emperor's journey. Throughout the conversations between Charles and Francis, the problem of Milan had hardly been raised. The suspicion was growing in Francis' mind that the emperor would never cede the Duchy.<sup>113</sup>

Not only was Sir John Wallop sent as resident ambassador in Bonner's place, but Norfolk was also commissioned to go to France on a special embassy to suggest that, with Henry's aid, Francis might be able to secure Milan.<sup>114</sup> Although Henry VIII charged

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112. L.P., XV.154, 155, 172; Kaulek, op.cit., p.162 (L.P., XV.208), see also L.P., XV.209.

113. Decrue, op.cit., pp.380-381.

114. Norfolk's instructions mentioned the emperor's anger when Wyatt complained that Brancetour had not been delivered to the English ambassadors. Wyatt's letter to Henry VIII describing his interview with the emperor on this matter was not written until 3 February, so Norfolk was therefore sent to France after Henry had heard of Bonner's behaviour to Francis on 23 January. Wallop was appointed to replace Bonner on 9 February: L.P., XV.186.

Norfolk to communicate his instructions to Bonner, the Bishop of London was no more than a translator and an assistant to the Duke. When Norfolk asked for audience with Francis, and begged that Bonner, since he knew the language, might accompany him, he was told that the "King for my sake wolde be content he shulde be present; but...he wolde advise me to declare my chardge alone, thother not being acceptable...". Norfolk did take Bonner with him in his interview with Francis and the Chancellor, but although the Chancellor told Norfolk that Bonner "used thoffice of a trew wise honest man", the duke wrote to Henry VIII "for Goddes sake, Sir, revoke the Busshop hens, assone as ye may; for he (is?) meverlously hated here, and shall never be able in this plase to You gode service, thogh sewerly I think he hath gode will".<sup>115</sup>

Bonner left France with Norfolk, but whereas the Duke reached the English court on 1 March, Bonner was still delaying on the road between Dover and London twelve days later, arriving at court only on 16 March. Marillac was not sure whether Henry had forbidden him to come to court because he really was angry with him, or because he wished Francis to think that he was. When he did present himself at court, the Bishop of London was poorly received by the

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115. L.P., XV.145; St.P., viii, p.254 (L.P., XV.222); L.P., XV.239; St.P., viii, p.268 (L.P., XV.240); St.P., viii, p.260 (L.P., XV.223), see also Norfolk's letter to Cromwell of 17 February 1540: P.R.D.: S.P.1/157, f.186 (L.P., XV.224).



king.<sup>116</sup>

The last three months of Bonner's embassy had resulted in dramatic failure. It is possible that Bonner's irritation with Wyatt, when the latter's scheme to trap Brancetour had failed, sharpened his tongue when he was delivering either his own or the king's complaint on the French refusal to ensure that the rebel was delivered to the ambassadors. By allowing his irritation to take command of his tongue, Bonner ignored the warning Gardiner had given him eighteen months before. It is unlikely that the French King, at the moment when the Imperial alliance no longer seemed completely satisfactory, would have insisted on the ambassador's recall unless his rudeness could be set against a background of annoyances suffered by Francis and de Montmorency at his hands.

Bonner's embassy to Francis I from 1538 to 1540 showed that he was a man who would attempt to discredit his colleagues and who was always anxious to curry favour with Cromwell. Cromwell's unwavering support for Bonner gives weight to the contention that the Lord Privy Seal lacked finesse in his management of foreign affairs. Although his embassy in France was made difficult by the friendship of Charles and Francis, Bonner was not a suitable envoy to initiate English overtures to the French King. Bonner

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116. L.P., XV.289, 334, 370.

had not played an important role at Compi gne and while he was in France English overtures were not made through him. It is possible that another ambassador in France, one perhaps less anxious to pursue Cromwell's religious policies, would have been able to ingratiate himself with Francis I and to further an English alliance, despite de Montmorency's Imperialist sympathies.

## Chapter 8.

### Bonner's embassy to Charles V, 1542-1543.

In February 1542 Henry VIII sent the Bishop of London to Spain as resident ambassador with the emperor.<sup>1</sup> The international situation had altered greatly since Bonner's recall from France two years before. Relations between Francis I and Charles V had deteriorated so far that one observer expected the immediate outbreak of war. In the months preceding the French declaration of war in July there was little hope of reconciliation between France and the Empire.<sup>2</sup> In February Francis was eagerly pressing for a marriage alliance with England and Charles also was shortly to commission his ambassador to negotiate a closer alliance with Henry VIII.<sup>3</sup> Now that the French and the Imperialists were

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1. Although Marillac, the French ambassador in England, and Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, reported on 17 and 29 January respectively that Bonner was to be sent to the emperor, the bishop's credence was dated 5 February, and his despatches were not delivered to him until 8 February: L.P., XVII.34, L.P., XVII. App. B. (3, 5, 6).
2. A copy, in Bonner's hand of the French declaration of war on 10 July is at P.R.O.: S.P. 1/172, ff.134-139 (L.P., XVII.669. (3)). See also L.P., XVII.492. The overtures of friendship made by France to the Imperialists in June 1542 seem to have been the only occasion when the possibility of a reconciliation was even broached: L.P., XVII.394.
3. On 4 January the English ambassador in France wrote that war was expected immediately in Flanders, Navarre and Italy: L.P., XVII.9. For the French overture and negotiations for an English marriage alliance in January and February 1542 see L.P., XVII.36, 51, 84, 97, 109, 124, 127. Bonner had not arrived at Valladolid on 14 March when Charles V sent the commission to Chapuys: L.P., XVII. 170, 171.

anxiously competing for English friendship, Bonner's task as resident ambassador with Charles V may have demanded less skill than had been required in France at the time of the Franco-Imperial rapprochement.

It is difficult to discover the motives which induced Henry VIII and his ministers to seek an Imperial alliance in 1542. Twice in that year the French made overtures to the English. Although, as Chapuys remarked, the French offered carte blanche for an English marriage, neither in the Spring nor in July 1542 did Anglo-French negotiations proceed beyond the preliminary stages.<sup>4</sup> The alignment of France with Scotland and the importance of Imperial friendship to Anglo-Flemish trade explains to a certain extent why the French negotiations were still-born. They do not explain why Henry, despising the advantages of neutrality, wittingly entered the "labyrinth" of an Imperial alliance,<sup>5</sup> The King of England wanted to take the European stage once more, and he may have been prompted by his Council. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, had the reputation of a "good imperialist" and Sir Thomas Wriothesley,

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4. For references to Anglo-French negotiations in Spring 1542 see note 3, and L.P., XVII.145, 148, 164, 166, 246, 248, 270(2), 326, App. B. (26), 492, 500, 501, 517, 523, 532. On 23 February Chapuys wrote that the French offered Henry VIII carte blanche: L.P., XVII.124.

5. L.P., XVII.App.B(22). p.733. See also Chapuys' letter to Granvelle of 30 June 1542 in which he wrote that the English were not wrong to consider well before implicating themselves in the emperor's dangerous affairs: L.P., XVII.App.B(23). Pollard, Henry VIII, 1951, p.328. See also G.R.Elton, England under the Tudors, 1955, p.197.

another or the most influential councillors, often appeared anxious to effect the alliance with Charles V.<sup>6</sup>

In November 1540 the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Henry Knyvett had travelled to the Emperor's court in Germany in order to solicit a treaty of closer friendship. By June 1541 no conclusion had been reached except the agreement that negotiations were to be resumed within ten months, during which time neither Henry VIII nor the emperor were to enter into an alliance which would be to the prejudice of the other.<sup>7</sup> Bonner was sent to show the emperor Henry's "affectionate desire" to fulfil the promises made in the previous year,<sup>8</sup> but the Emperor needed no prompting to re-open discussions with the English. On 14 March, before Bonner had arrived at the Imperial court or Charles had heard his message, the emperor sent powers and instructions to Chapuys to investigate the possibility of a treaty. As soon as Charles' sister, the Regent of the Netherlands, sent the commission to England at the beginning of April, Chapuys began energetically to negotiate with the king and his ministers.<sup>9</sup>

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6. L.P., XVII.App. B(22, 23); L.P., XVII.338, 1114, L.P., XVIII. (1).44

7. The instructions to and the despatches from Gardiner and Knyvett in 1540 and 1541 have not survived, but Marillac reported on 16 November 1540 that they were to leave for the emperor's court in two days, and a letter from Chapuys to the regent of 18 June 1541 showed what Gardiner had achieved in his political negotiations at Ratisbon in 1541: L.P., XVI.269, 910.

8. St.P., ix, pp. 6-7 (L.P., XVII.292); L.P. XVII.App. B(17).

9. L.P., XVII.170, 171, 217, 245.

During the first half of 1542 the conferences and discussions necessary to arrange the terms of the alliance took place in England. Chapuys had preliminary conversations with the Admiral, Tunstall, Thirlby and Sadler, the four commissioners appointed by Henry VIII in April. In the second week of May Gardiner moved to Stepney in order to talk frequently and informally with the Imperial ambassador. On 18 May after he had had news from Spain, Henry VIII issued a second and fuller commission to Tunstall, Thirlby and Gardiner to negotiate with Chapuys.<sup>10</sup>

Before he left England, Bonner had dined with Chapuys but the Imperial ambassador was unable to learn the Bishop's instructions. Shortly after his departure, Chapuys sent three different messages to Southampton and the Admiral to discover whether Bonner's mission was to effect a closer alliance between England and the Empire, for he knew that the emperor would be glad to know Bonner's charge before he arrived in Spain.<sup>11</sup> The English councillors were probably waiting to see whether Chapuys would himself initiate proposals for an alliance before he knew the purpose of Bonner's

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10. L.P., XVII.App.B(12). Gardiner's conversations with Chapuys in Stepney: L.P., XVII.319, 320, 325, 329, 338. For the negotiations of Tunstall, Gardiner and Thirlby (and Southampton and Wriothesley) with Chapuys see L.P., XVII.349, 350, 360, App.B (19, 21, 22). A draft treaty, in Wriothesley's hand, which was probably drawn up in May is at P.R.O.: S.P. 1/170, ff.184-191 (L.P., XVII.361). The negotiations in England entered upon this second stage when Bonner's letters of 3 May arrived from Spain and the emperor's commission arrived for Chapuys: see Henry's letter to Bonner: P.R.O.: S.P. 1/170, ff.172a, 173-183 (L.P., XVII.360).

11. L.P., XVII.App.B(6), L.P., XVII.124, 171.

embassy.

Although Bonner was sent to the emperor because Henry hoped to arrive at a "closer confederacy and alliance",<sup>12</sup> the Imperial minister, Granvelle, was surprised that the Englishman had not brought a "speciall commission to aske and declare what ye wolde have, to thentent we might procede accordinglie". The emperor complained to Chapuys that although the bishop "affirmed that his master sincerely desired a brief conclusion and had sent him for that purpose;... no particular could be learnt from the said ambassadors of the king's intention, save that past treaties shall be revised and augmented or diminished".<sup>13</sup> Bonner was not commissioned to negotiate the Anglo-Imperial treaty. The Bishop of London was little more than the liason between the commissioners in England and the emperor.

At some date between his return from France in February 1540 and his despatch to Spain in 1542 Bonner had probably become reconciled with Stephen Gardiner. Foxe, in the martyrology, declared that Bonner and Gardiner "so soon as Cromwell fell, pretended to

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12. Neither Bonner's instructions nor his despatch of 5 April (referred to in his letter with Knyvett of 3 May, St.P., ix, p.1 (L.P., XVII.292)) have survived, but his commission is made clear in the emperor's letter to Chapuys of 6 April, Sp. Cal. VI(i). p.490 (L.P., XVII.239).

13. St.P., ix, p. 6 (L.P., XVII.292); L.P., XVII.App.B (17).

be the greatest men that lived". Bonner had probably become more conservative in his religious opinions after 1540.<sup>14</sup> With the arrest and execution of Katharine Howard the Norfolk faction at court lost much of its influence and, during Bonner's embassy in Spain, Gardiner was "in the king's favour".<sup>15</sup> Bonner was also well-acquainted with Thomas Wriothesley, who had been appointed joint principal secretary in April 1540 and who was to succeed Audley as chancellor in 1544.<sup>16</sup>

Sir Henry Knyvett had been the resident ambassador with the emperor since November 1540. Although his recall may have been occasioned solely by his desire to return to England, it is possible that Henry VIII, dissatisfied with his conduct of the embassy in Spain, summoned him home sooner than had been expected. Knyvett's only previous experience in international politics had been a brief journey to France in 1537, for he was primarily a courtier rather than a diplomat. Henry and some of his Council may have thought that Bonner, with his extensive diplomatic knowledge, would be

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14. J.Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J.Pratt and J.Stoughton, v, (1877), p.414. In March 1541 Wyatt remarked on Bonner's changed opinion in religious matters: L.P., XVI.640, p.309. See below chap. 9, p.276 and chap.12, p.421.
15. So Chapuys wrote to the regent on 9 April 1543: L.P., XVIII(1). 390. See also J.A.Muller, Stephen Gardiner and The Tudor Reaction, 1926, p.101, Elton, op.cit., pp.194-195.
16. For Bonner's friendship with Wriothesley see above, chap. 7, p.205, and see also the biography of Wriothesley in D.N.B. On 30 June and 2 November 1542 Chapuys remarked on Wriothesley's influence with Henry VIII: L.P., XVII.App.B(22), L.P., XVII. 1017, p.574.



better able to carry out English policy in Spain than Knyvett.<sup>17</sup>

At the opening of his mission to Charles V in 1538 Bonner did not know Spanish, but it is possible that he acquired the rudiments of the language during the months he and Dr. Heynes were at the Imperial court. Although his first long conversation with Granvelle was probably conducted in Latin, in August 1542 Bonner made some brief notes on the back of a document in a mixture of Latin and Spanish. In April 1543 comments on the Anglo-Imperial treaty were delivered to him "in Spaynische" by a member of the emperor's council. Bonner himself may have translated these remarks before sending them in English to Henry VIII.<sup>18</sup>

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17. In April and June 1542 Chapuys reported that Henry VIII was dissatisfied with Knyvett, but after Bonner's despatch and before Knyvett's return, Sir Henry was granted the keepership of the messuage and gardens of the manor of West Horsleigh and of the "Mote Park" in Windsor forest: L.P., XVII.App.B(13, p.722, 22, p.729); L.P., XVII, 137(60), 220 (2). It is possible that the king's dissatisfaction with Knyvett did not develop until some date between 1 March and 13 April. Bonner had taken with him money for Knyvett's diets until 31 July and it is improbable that on 6 February when the warrant for the diets was issued the king intended to recall Knyvett before the end of July: P.R.O.: E.315/250, f.55 (L.P., XVII.258, f.55). In the absence of Knyvett's reports it is impossible to be more precise. For Knyvett's earlier career see L.P., XII(ii).368, 427, 586, L.P., V.927, L.P., VIII.1158(17), L.P., X.1222, L.P., XII(ii).911. Knyvett had probably re-established himself in the king's favour by July 1543 when he was present at the marriage of Henry and Catharine Parr: L.P., XVIII(i).873.

18. L.P., XIII(i).1146, see above, chap.6, p.76. L.P., XIII(i).1146. In their description of their conversation with Granvelle on 24 April 1542 Bonner and Knyvett quoted in places phrases in Latin which the Imperial minister had used: St.P., ix, pp.2, 3, 4, 5, 7 (L.P., XVII.292); P.R.O.: S.P.1/172, f.138 (L.P., XVII.669 (3.ii)); St.P., ix, p.359, note 2 (L.P., XVIII(i).406).

Not only his acquaintance with important members of the Council and his knowledge of the international scene made Bonner a suitable envoy to the emperor. The Bishop of London was known for his antipathy to the French and his sympathy for the Imperialists, and he described himself as "moste desierous to fether this amytie" between Henry and Charles. When the French ambassador in London first heard that Bonner was to go to Spain, he wrote to Francis I that the Bishop would travel by sea either to transport his baggage more easily "on bien qui luy soit grief de passer par vostre court et se présenter à vous, Sire, pour le mauuvs office qu'il feist il y a deux ans...". Although the Imperial ambassador in England spoke highly of Bonner's courtesy he remembered that he had been recalled from France because of his "haughty language". Chapuys considered Bonner's reputation as a "bad Frenchman" understandable "after the treatment he received in France". Writing to Granvelle Chapuys recommended Bonner not only as a scholar and a "man of wit" but as one who bore great affection to the emperor.<sup>19</sup>

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19. St.P., ix, p.235 (L.P., XVII.1200); J.Kaulek, ed., Correspondance Politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac, Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre, (1537-1542), Commission des Archives Diplomatiques, 1885, p.383 (L.P., XVII.34); L.P., XVII.App.B (4, 6); Sp.Cal., VI(i), p.467 (L.P., XVII.64). See also L.P., XVII.263.

Bonner probably left England on 10 February 1542, and he was still on his journey four weeks later.<sup>20</sup> The Bishop of Plascentia travelled "a good way into the country" to meet the English ambassador and when Bonner finally reached his destination a gentleman of the Imperial Chamber received him "with due honour" at the gates of Valladolid. On Palm Sunday, 2 April 1542, Bonner had his first interview with the emperor. As well as expressing Henry's grief at the loss Charles had sustained in the expedition to Algiers Bonner declared at length the friendship which the King of England bore to the emperor. Bonner may also have taken this opportunity to announce that he had brought with him "three fair palfreys" as a present to the emperor from his master.<sup>21</sup>

Consideration of the more important aspects of Bonner's commission was postponed until the arrival at the Imperial court of the emperor's minister, Granvelle, who was on his way from Germany. Bonner's first interview with Granvelle took place on 24 April. The ambassador and the minister parleyed with each other for some time, each declaring that his master was being courted by the French, but at last Bonner admitted that he had been

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20. On 9 February Chapuys wrote to Charles V that Bonner "reckoned to depart tomorrow": L.P., XVII.App.B(6). He had not arrived when Charles wrote to Chapuys on 14 March instructing the Imperial ambassador to re-open negotiations in England: L.P., XVII.171.
21. Sp.Cal., VI(1), p.489 (L.P., XVII.239). For the date of Bonner's interview see L.P., XVII.239 note; G.Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, ed. N.Pocock, vi, 1865, p.259 (L.P., XVII.263).

sent "to knowe thEmperours inclination", and "to comon of suche thinges as heretofore have been spoken of and begonne by my Lorde of Winchester".<sup>22</sup>

In his interview with the emperor Bonner had mixed "the sweet with the bitter" by protesting that English ships were not allowed to lade in Flemish ports, and had presented a Latin memorandum expounding the English arguments why the Edict against English shipping should be revoked. The Emperor had referred this matter to Granvelle, passing on to him Bonner's bill. In his interview with Granvelle Bonner complained of the treatment of English ambassadors in Flanders "as is conteyned in my instructions", and asked that the "Edicte in Flaunders, which giveth a pyke and occasion of displeasure," be revoked.<sup>23</sup>

In neither of these matters was Bonner's participation to continue very far. Granvelle seemed anxious to negotiate a closer alliance with England, and proposed that a commission "in amplissima forma" should be sent to Chapuys. For a week after this conversation with Granvelle, Bonner and Knyvett waited anxiously, sending messengers almost every day to the emperor's minister in the hope that they would obtain precise confirmation of the Imperial intentions. On 3 May Granvelle at last showed Bonner the emperor's commission to Chapuys "to procede and trayte...upon a strayter amitie". As well as sending the commission, Charles V wrote a letter of detailed instructions to his ambassador telling him what

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22. St.P., ix, pp.5-6 (L.P., XVII.292).

23. Sp.Cal., VI(1).243 (L.P., XVII.239); St.P., ix, pp. 5, 7 (L.P., XVII,292).

had taken place in Spain, and placing most of the responsibility for further negotiations in his hands. Similarly the emperor and Granvelle decided that Chapuys and the Regent of the Netherlands should settle the question of the revocation of the Edict. Chapuys already knew the contents of the memorandum Bonner had presented to the emperor and he and Mary of Hungary were better able to act in the matter than the emperor and his Council in Spain.<sup>24</sup>

Thus in the opening weeks of his embassy Bonner had carried out his instructions to the best of his ability. That he was not commissioned to undertake detailed negotiations for an alliance with the emperor does not necessarily indicate that the king or his counsellors lacked confidence in his ability to manage such conversations. It is possible that Henry wished any discussion of a treaty to take place in England so that he could be in constant touch with his commissioners. By the time Bonner arrived in Spain the English had received some indications of the Emperor's intentions. The bishop's conversations with Charles V and Granvelle may however have persuaded them to hasten the despatch of the fuller commission which Chapuys was anxiously awaiting and without which the negotiations in England could not continue.<sup>25</sup> Bonner was irritated by

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24. St.P., ix, pp.7, 14 (L.P., XVII.292). See also Charles V's letter to Chapuys of 3 May: L.P., XVII.App.B(17), and his commission dated 2 May: L.P., XVII.291; The Council told Chapuys the contents of Bonner's memorandum in April: L.P., XVII.App.B(13). Chapuys had negotiated the revocation of the Edict by the beginning of July: L.P., XVII.440(i), 449, 484.

25. On 7 May 1542 Chapuys wrote to the regent that he was in a state of perplexity because he had not received any fresh instructions from the emperor: Sp.Cal. VI(ii). p.9 (L.P., XVII.309). With

the delays forced upon him by Granvelle and the emperor. But the task of the English ambassador in Spain was not one of great difficulty for the achievement of a new alliance was as much the hope of the Imperialists as of the English.

In England, the negotiations of May and June did not result in a treaty of alliance. Although Chapuys had frequent conferences with the Councillors and even paid a hurried visit to Flanders to consult with the regent, at the end of June he wrote that nothing had been resolved. A minor achievement, however, was the prolongation of the agreement whereby neither the English nor the Imperialists treated to the prejudice of the other. In addition Chapuys persuaded Henry VIII to send Thomas Thirlby Bishop of Westminster, to Spain.<sup>26</sup>

In a letter to Bonner probably written at the end of May, the king explained why there had been no conclusion and told his ambassador to expound his arguments to the emperor. There were two

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25 (cont.) Gardiner's arrival in Stepney on 12 May Chapuys' anxiety probably increased. The instructions he received on 16 May were those despatched from Spain on 3 May, see Gardiner's letter of 17 May: L.P., XVII.329, and the letter from Henry VIII to Bonner: P.R.O.: S.P.1/170, ff.172a, 173-183 (L.P., XVII.360).

26. In a letter to Charles V of 30 June Chapuys described the negotiations in England during the preceding six weeks: L.P., XVII. App.B(22). See also L.P., XVII.439, App.B(19, 21, 23). Chapuys left England for Flanders on 10 June and had returned by 17 June: L.P., XVII.392, 397, 415, see also L.P., XVII.435. For a draft of the agreement that neither English nor Imperialists would treat to the other's disadvantage see P.R.O.: S.P.1/170, ff.184-191 (L.P., XVII.361). On 29 June Henry VIII wrote to the emperor that he intended to send Thirlby to Spain: Vienna E.H.K.1; and in this letter of the following day Chapuys remarked on the difficulty he had had to persuade the king to do this: L.P., XVII.App.B(22).

outstanding difficulties. First, the emperor wanted Spain to be included in the defensive treaty, while the English thought that the agreement for mutual defence should be confined to the Low Countries. Secondly the English demanded that the emperor indemnify them for their French pensions which they would forfeit if they declared war on Francis. Although Chapuys and the regent remained fully aware of the matters at variance between them and the English commissioners, by the end of June Henry VIII had become more optimistic.<sup>27</sup>

The king sent Thirlby to Spain with the rough draft of a treaty which he declared had been "brought to perfite forme and ordre". He gave his two ambassadors full powers to turn the rough draft into a regular treaty. Henry said that, when the emperor had appointed commissioners to conclude the alliance, they and the two English bishops could then turn to the matter of Monstreuil.<sup>28</sup> The Great Master of Flanders was anxious for an English expedition to Picardy and Chapuys on his return from Flanders in June had

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27. P.R.O.: S.P. 1/170, ff.172a, 173-183 (L.P., XVII.360), see the regent's letters to Charles V of 10 and 30 June: Vienna, Belgica, P.A.41, ff.206-207, 231-232. As well as the determination to comprehend Spain in the article of defence, the regent did not see how the treaty could ever be concluded so long as Henry VIII styled himself "Head of the Church in England."
28. St.P., ix, pp.68-73, esp. p.69 (L.P., XVII.447). The treaty which Henry sent to Spain has not survived. It cannot be the treaty probably drawn up in May by Wriothesley, or the agreement made at the end of June, for reference is made in Thirlby's instructions to articles numbered nineteen and twenty-two. The agreements of May and June did not have so many articles: L.P., XVII.361, 440, 447.

suggested to Henry VIII an attack on the castle of Monstreuil. Chapuys reported that Henry "liked it marvellously", so much so indeed that in Thirlby's instructions arrangements for the expedition displaced proposals to resolve the difficulties preventing the completion of the treaty.<sup>29</sup>

It was not unusual for a special envoy to be sent to assist the resident ambassador: in October 1542 the Sieur de Courrieres, captain of the Imperial bodyguard, arrived in England to assist Chapuys.<sup>30</sup> Thirlby had participated in the preliminary conversations in April and in the discussions of May and June. He was in a better position to expound the English demands than Bonner, who could only have been acquainted by letter of the course of the negotiations in England. As well as his knowledge of the opinions of the king and of the Council, Thirlby was a man whom Chapuys once described as "...rond, veritable et sans dissimulation". In June 1542 he was thought to favour the Imperial alliance.<sup>31</sup>

When he joined Knyvett Bonner, armed with fresh instructions, took the greater share of the negotiations in their long conversations with Granvelle.<sup>32</sup> During Thirlby's visit to Spain he and Bonner seem to have acted as equals. Thirlby was instructed to communicate his commission to Bonner and "that doon, they shall

29. L.P., XVII.App.B.(21, 22). L.P., XVII.447, 519.

30. L.P., XVII.615, 918, 963, 993, 1008, 1099.

31. L.P., XVII.1224, p.675. L.P., XVII.App.B(22), L.P., XVIII(1). 44. Later in 1543 Chapuys became more critical of Thirlby: L.P., XVIII(1).259, 763.

32. St.P., ix, pp.1-16 (L.P., XVII.292).



procure to have accesse together to thEmperours presence...". Bonner already knew and liked the Bishop of Westminster and in August 1542 described him to Henry VIII as "a man of trouthe, singuler good witte, and lernyng, and oon that hath herein proceded very diligentlie, substancially, and with all good dexterite and wisdom". When Thirlby was on his way back to England Bonner begged him to "be a sollicitour for me, not onely for my diettes behinde, but also in all my other maters, and specially that my woodes about London and other wher, be not soo cut downe, as they have been...". There is no hint of any discord between the Bishops of London and Westminster at any time during their joint embassy.<sup>33</sup>

Thirlby left London on 2 July 1542 to travel to the West Country. He sailed from Plymouth on Sunday 9 July and arrived in Spain six days later. Making his way from the Basque country of Bilbao, he travelled south-east towards Saragossa and Monzon to the Imperial court, On 27 July he had his first audience with

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33. For instance when Charles V wrote of the negotiations which had taken place in Spain during Thirlby's visit, he wrote of "what had been settled here between the Bishops of London and Westminster and ourselves": Sp.Cal., VI(ii), p.176 (L.P., XVII.1030); St.P., ix, p.68 (L.P., XVII.447); For Bonner's earlier relations with Thirlby see above, chap. 7, p.145; St.P., ix, p.124 (L.P., XVII.609); ibid., p.168 (L.P., XVII.789). With regard to the timber belonging to the bishopric of London see also the complaints of Bonner's servants Thomas Smerle and Richard Lechmere to the Privy Council in June 1545: A.P.C., 1542-1547, p.178 (L.P., XX(1).853); P.R.O., S.P., 1/173, f.24 (L.P., XVII.791).

the emperor and was received with "molte stanordinarie carezza".<sup>34</sup>  
 The Bishops of London and Westminster had four conferences with the emperor and his Council before Thirlby began his journey back to England three weeks later.<sup>35</sup>

In the discussions of the two bishops with the emperor and his councillors, it soon became clear that some articles in the treaty "were couched in terms" which the emperor "could not honestly and conscientiously allow to pass"; some should be "amplified, explained, or at any rate made equal for both the contracting parties" and some should be referred to Chapuys and the Regent of the Netherlands for further consideration. It became apparent to the Imperialists that the treaty which Thirlby had brought with him did not agree with a draft Chapuys had sent. The English ambassadors and the Imperial ministers found difficulties in the phraseology of the defensive league "against all persons", since the emperor thought that this term might be construed as an attack on the Pope. The Imperialists demanded that the article about rebels be altered since restitution of English fugitives

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34. Chapuys noted that Thirlby left London on 2 July: L.P., XVII. App.B(24). See also "A short itinerary of the embassy to the Spanish court by the bishops of Westminster & London, written by one of their suite": Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 763, ff.188-188v. This is an itinerary of Thirlby and not of Bonner. The itinerary states that Thirlby "hade his acces to the courte the xxiii of Juli," but Cesare Gonzaga in his letter to Mantua on 8 August describes in detail Thirlby's arrival and reception on 27 July: Mantua, b.441.

35. Thirlby probably left the Imperial court sometime between 11 and 13 August: Bodleian, Ashmole Ms., loc.cit.; St.P., ix, p.125 (L.P., XVII.621); ibid., p.124 (L.P., XVII.609); Sp.Cal., VI(ii), pp.91-111 (L.P., XVII.615, 616). Bonner accompanied Thirlby as far as Saragossa: St.P., ix, pp.131-132 (L.P., XVII.669(i)).

would include the return of those who had fled "rather than submit to the new doctrines and regulations in religious matters". In Thirlby's instructions the two bishops were authorized "to altre and chaunge any word or wordes nowe in the saide treatye signed", but they were not commissioned to admit any "alteracion of theeffect of any material matyer and porpose of tharticles".<sup>36</sup>

Thirlby's journey had not effected the conclusion of the alliance. Henry VIII may have realized that the terms of the treaty which he sent to Spain would not satisfy the emperor; he may deliberately have refrained from giving the two bishops power to make alterations in order to create delays. Nevertheless, although the English were fully occupied in Scotland during the late summer and autumn of 1542, when Thirlby left England at the beginning of July home affairs would not have appeared so pressing as to necessitate the postponement of the Anglo-Imperial alliance. Henry VIII may, however, have believed that Charles V needed his friendship urgently. He may also have expected that the emperor would share his enthusiasm for the expedition to Monstreuil. In fact, the King of England may have expected the emperor to waive all objections to the treaty Thirlby carried to Spain.<sup>37</sup> At all events the Imperial ministers decided that nothing could be achieved with the two English bishops and determined to send the *Sieur de*

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36. Sp.Cal., VI(ii), p.92 (L.P., XVII.616); St.P., ix, p.70 (L.P., XVII.447).

37. Bonner and Thirlby first impressed upon the Imperial ministers the necessity for haste: Sp.Cal., VI(ii), p.92 (L.P., XVII.616).

Courrieres to continue the discussions in England.

After Thirlby's departure from the Imperial court in mid-August, Bonner was again left as the sole English representative in Spain. Thirlby and de Courrieres did not however arrive in England until 5 October. As early as the second week in August Henry VIII was impatiently inquiring why he had had no news from Spain. Throughout September he declared that "it would be great folly for him to send away his money and make enemies of his friends without knowing first on what terms he stood with the Imperialists". He would wait until he heard from Thirlby and Bonner. On 13 September the Bishop of London received the Council's letter of 11 August which had been forwarded by Thirlby from "Portugaleit" near Bilbao. As soon as he had deciphered it "wherin of fidelitie...I had right greate peane", he rode to Monzon to see Granvelle. The Imperial minister told him news of French advances in Luxembourg and Imperial preparations in Perpignan. Bonner declared to Granvelle that "the Frenchmen durste not for their eares neyther have goone abowte to brynge in the Turque, ne yet to have commen soo farre as they have doon, if thamytie had been concluded". Both Granvelle and the emperor, with whom Bonner also had audience on 13 September, were "right sorye" that Thirlby and de Courrieres had not reached England. They emphasized that they had no desire to delay the conclusion of the treaty. Only the bad weather and the difficulty of the sea voyage hindered it. Bonner asked the emperor to "let thise small poyntes that Your Majestie did sticke upon be utterly abolished". In answer the

the emperor smilingly remarked that they were not small and he "trusted Monsieur Currier wolde well satisfye the Kinges Majestie". He had nothing to add to the letters and papers which De Courrieres had taken to England.<sup>38</sup>

On 7 November the Privy Council wrote to Bonner telling him of the arrival of Thirlby and de Courrieres. The Council declared that the Imperial ambassadors "shewed themselves... content with very fewe of tharticles as they were couched...". The chief point at issue was once again the phraseology of the article of mutual defence. The clause concerning the restitution of rebels also raised difficulties. In thir letter the councillors told Bonner that the king "remayneth of a good inclynation to thamitie". Should the opportunity arise, the Bishop of London was commissioned to show the Imperial ministers the advantages of an alliance with the King of England compared with an alliance with the Pope. In England the succession was perpetual, whereas a new Pope might be elected "of a contrary faction to thEmperour". The king would be of much greater aid to the emperor in the Low Countries than anyone else.<sup>39</sup>

The Bishop of London had twice written hopefully to the king of the chance that the emperor would "breake with the Bisshop of

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38. L.P., XVII.918, 792; L.P., XVII.728, 746 p.411, 780, 852; St.P., ix, pp.163-170, esp. pp.163, 165-167 (L.P., XVII.789). See also Sp.Cal., VI(ii), pp.135-136 (L.P., XVII.792).

39. St.P., ix, pp.213-216, esp. pp.214-215 (L.P., XVII.1044).

Rome, which thinge... will shortlye appere, He wilbe to Hym accerrimus hostis".<sup>40</sup> Bonner had already tried to provoke Charles "to have uttered sumwhat his stomacke agaynst the Bissshop of Rome, tellyng Him that the Frenche Kinge never wolde have goone about this warre against themperour, yf the sayed Bissshop of Rome had seriouslye forbydden Hym". The Pope deserved little gratitude from the emperor for he had stirred up dissensions in Europe "that Himself myght reigne, and everamonge usurpinge of Princes". Thus, when Bonner received the Council's letter of 7 November, he had no hesitation in rehearsing to the Imperial ministers "all the persuasions conteyned in the same, and added therto all suche other as I coulde excogitat to make beste for the purpose". Du Buschot, one of the Imperial Council, and Joyes, one of the emperor's secretaries, assured the English ambassador that when the Regent of the Netherlands had discussed the treaty with De Courrieres, "the matter shulde comme to good passe".<sup>41</sup>

Bonner's interviews with the emperor and Granvelle in September and with the two Imperial councillors in December seem to have been the only occasions after Thirlby's departure when he participated in any way in the negotiations for the Angb-Imperial alliance. From October until the conclusion of the treaty in

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40. St.P., ix, p.159 (L.P., XVII.788).

41. St.P., ix, p.167 (L.P., XVII.789); ibid., p.215 (L.P., XVII.1044); ibid., p.235 (L.P., XVII.1200).

February 1543 the conferences took place in England.<sup>42</sup> Nor did Bonner have more responsibility during the Spring of 1543. On 2 March, when Gardiner, Thirlby and Wriothesley visited Chapuys, they told him that the Bishop of London "had no commission or mandate whatever to treat about the time, mode, or form of the common invasion of France, and that all they wanted him to do at the Imperial Court was to solicit from the Emperor to send his powers... to treat of that affair and others here in London".<sup>43</sup>

From September 1542 until his recall fifteen months later Bonner had little to do but follow the Imperial court in its peregrinations around Spain, to Italy, Germany and Flanders,<sup>(44)</sup> and to report news and events.

The most important of these events was the ratification by

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42. On 15 October Henry VIII commissioned Gardiner, Thirlby and Wriothesley to treat with the Imperial ambassadors: L.P., XVII.949. Despite the English overture to France in October: L.P., XVII.980, and Henry's hesitation in December: L.P., XVII.1224, the treaty was finally concluded on 11 February 1543: L.P., XVIII(1).144. For reports of the negotiations in the autumn of 1542 and first weeks of 1543 see L.P., XVII.963, 993, 1008, 1017, 1092, 1229, 1241 L.P., XVIII(1).44, 63, 150, 170, 171 and Sp.Cal., Further Supplement, pp.457-458. On 17 February Chapuys wrote to Charles V that he was sorry not to have received the emperor's letter before concluding the treaty: L.P., XVIII(1).171, see also L.P., XVII(1).201. The emperor was, however, satisfied with the action Chapuys had taken: L.P., XVIII(1).247.

43. Sp.Cal. VI(ii), pp.270-271 (L.P., XVIII(1).259).

44. Bonner was at Balbastro on 4 October 1542: St.P., ix, p.191 (L.P., XVII.905), had reached Barcelona on 29 October: ibid., p.211 (L.P., XVII.1004), wrote from Valentia on 13 December: ibid., p.236 (L.P., XVII.1200), was at Madrid on 27 January and 1 March 1542-1543: ibid., pp.277, 331 (L.P., XVIII(1).84, 231), at Saragossa on 17 March and at Barcelona on 15 April: ibid., pp.355, 360 (L.P., XVIII(1).615), travelled to Pavia, Cremona,

the emperor of the Anglo-Imperial treaty which had been signed by Chapuys in London on 11 February. Four days later Henry VIII issued a commission to Bonner to take the emperor's oath of ratification. On 18 March Bonner had most "lovyng and good audience" with the emperor but it was not until 8 April that Charles "proceeded to the giveng of the othe according to the tenour of this writyng in parchement, subscribed with his owne hande, now sente herewithall".<sup>45</sup> The emperor and his ministers gathered at mass "in a chappell adjoyneng to the garden" in the village of Moleyn del Re near Barcelona. Bonner wrote the full details of the oath-taking to Henry VIII.

Another incident of which Bonner informed the king was his failure to make contact with a fugitive Englishman, George Dudley.

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44 (cont) Vogera and Milan during June: ibid., pp.402, 405, 420, 421, 484 (L.P., XVIII(1).688, 739, L.P., XVIII(ii).73), wrote from Cologne on 24 August and 3 and 7 September: ibid., pp. 487, 497, 501 (L.P., XVIII(ii).73, 126, 142), wrote from "Lovaine" on 28 September: P.R.O.: S.P.1/181, f.173 (L.P., XVIII(ii).224), and from Brussels on 5 December St.P., ix, p.568 (L.P., XVIII(ii).457).

45. L.P., XVIII(1).144; T.Rymer, Foedera, VI(iii), 1741, p.90 (see L.P., XVIII(1).339(1)); St.P., ix, pp.255-260 (L.P., XVIII(1).406). Although the ratification of the treaty printed from B.M.: Cotton, Galba B.x., f.130 in Rymer was dated 31 March 1543, Bonner told Henry VIII that "it was not then spedde". The oath was not taken in front of Bonner until 8 April. The copy of Charles' ratification in the Vienna Archives bears the date, 8 April: Vienna, E.V.4.



Dudley was a son of John Sutton, Lord Dudley, who died in 1530, and it is possible that, a priest, he held a prebend in the collegiate church of Southwell at its dissolution in 1540. Hearing that Dudley was on his way to Rome to join Pole, Paget, the English ambassador in France, apprehended him in February 1543 and sent his confession to the king. Unfortunately by Paget's "folishe pitye and negligence of my servants", Dudley escaped from the ambassador's house in Paris.<sup>46</sup> On 5 May Edward Raligh and John Brende wrote to the Privy Council that Dudley, accompanied by four Frenchmen, was on his way to Bologna. Deciding that to kill Dudley would be unprofitable they persuaded the governor of Milan, the Marquis of Guasto, to imprison him until Bonner arrived in Italy with the Imperial court. When the bishop arrived at Genoa at the end of May he found letters from Brende and Raligh concerning Dudley waiting for him. It was not until the middle of June, however, that Bonner had opportunity to go to Milan "ther to common with Dudley, and knowe why he departed from Your Graces Realme, and by what occasion, who moved hym thereunto, what letters comforte and socour he had therein and finally whether he mynded to goo and doo". When he arrived in Milan the ambassador was told by the

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46. The editor of the State Papers did not believe that George Dudley was the son of John Sutton, Lord Dudley, because he did not bear the same surname: St.P., ix, p.296 note 2. However he was so described in the letter of John Brende and Edward Raligh to the Council of 5 May 1543: L.P., XVIII(1).505. A George Dudley was licensed to be a non-resident and to accept pluralities in August 1533: L.P., VI.1383(16); L.P., XVI.275; St.P., ix, pp.296-297 (L.P., XVIII(1).113); ibid., pp.303-304 (L.P., XVIII(1).125); ibid., p.314 (L.P., XVIII(1).163).

Castellan that Dudley had escaped from the castle. The possibility seemed to Bonner "very straunge, unlikilie and untrew" and in his letter to the king of 19 June he declared that he would press the matter with the Marquis of Guasto, with Granvelle and with the emperor. In his despatch of 26 June Bonner may have reported the explanations of Charles and his minister, but if the ambassador made any attempts to recapture Dudley, he was not successful.<sup>47</sup>

As well as reporting his own activities as in the ratification of the treaty or in the pursuit of Dudley, Bonner sent as much news to England as he could obtain. Henry was notified of the prolongation or prorogation of the Cortes<sup>48</sup> the preparations for the defence of Perpignan and for the administration of Spain in the emperor's absence<sup>49</sup> as well as of the movements of the Imperial court.<sup>50</sup> In the spring of 1543 Bonner reported the rumours

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47. John Brende, M.P. for Thetford in 1558, was overseer of the works of Tynemouth in 1545 and the commissary for Penninck's army in 1546. He carried letters for Bonner from Germany to England in August 1543. I am grateful to Mr. Roger Virgoe for showing me the biography of Brende which he wrote for the History of Parliament, see also L.P., XVIII(ii).73, 126, L.P., XVIII(i).505, St.P., ix, p.403 (L.P., XVIII(i).688), ibid., p.420 (L.P., XVIII(i).739). In his letter of 24 August 1543 Bonner mentioned that Brende had taken great trouble concerning Dudley and would inform the Council concerning him: St.P., ix, p.487 (L.P., XVIII(ii).73).

48. St.P., ix, pp.190, 207 (L.P., XVII.905, 1004).

49. ibid., p.160 (L.P., XVII.788); ibid., pp.161, 234, 363 (L.P., XVII.788, 1200, L.P., XVIII(i).471).

50. See for instance, St.P., ix, pp.207, 234, 355, 393, 402 (L.P., XVII, 1004, 1200, L.P., XVIII(i).406, 615, 688).

that the emperor would meet the Pope, gradually giving more precise information as he became certain that such a meeting would take place.<sup>51</sup> When the emperor reached Germany and Flanders in the late summer of 1543 the English ambassador with the regent and the captains of Henry's forces in the Netherlands were sending frequent reports to England of the movements and activity of the Imperial court. Although Bonner did not send any despatches to England for almost two months in the early summer of 1543, in August and September he supplemented the despatches of the other English ambassadors with descriptions of the emperor's army, and the submission of the Duke of Cleves, as well as sending a copy of the contract signed by the emperor and the Duke in September 1543.<sup>52</sup> Bonner's reports at this time were perhaps of less interest than those of his colleagues, for as he himself complained, he was not with the Imperial court. Granvelle had sent him to Cologne "whiche in this tyme of warre appeared to me a prison", to provide "suche thinge as ye (Granvelle) said were necessarie for me".<sup>53</sup>

Although Bonner grumbled "I neyther spare money, nor yet favo(u)<sup>r</sup> my grosse body" and was at one time his own secretary, it is unlikely that he lacked servants while he was on this embassy. He had a steward for his household at Balbastro, and for some time had

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51. ibid., pp.364, 376, 394, 404 (L.P., XVIII(1).471, 545, 615, 688).

52. St.P., ix, pp.484, 495, 500 (L.P., XVIII(ii).73, 126, 142), P.R.O.: S.P. 1/181, f.173 (L.P., XVIII(ii).224).

53. ibid.

as messengers Wriothesley's servant Edmund Atkinson and the king's servant "Mr. Chamberlayn".<sup>54</sup> As well as on his own household, Bonner could rely on English merchants in Spain to give him information and to undertake commissions.

On 1 March 1543 Bonner wrote to the king that Richard Graye, servant of William Gonson, the surveyor of the navy, had procured the release of those English ships which had been detained at Seville when the emperor had arrested the shipping of all nations.<sup>55</sup> While he was in Spain, Graye made certain accusations against one William Estrige. It is possible that Estrige had been a monk at the convent of St. Alban's but Bonner only noted of him<sup>56</sup> that he had been "married in Saint Mary Hill parishe in London...now dwelling in S<sup>t</sup> Lucar and occupeing in Seville". Graye believed, so Bonner wrote to Henry VIII, that Estrige, "having suspecte acquayntaunce with dyverse naughtie freers in Seville, intendeth shortly to

54. P.R.O.: S.P.1/173, f.28 (L.P., XVII.797); L.P., XVII.669 (2 ii); P.R.O.: S.P.1/173, f.24 (L.P., XVII.791); L.P., XVIII(i).406, 471, see also L.P., XVIII(i).181, 184.

55. St.P., ix, p.330 (L.P., XVIII(i).231); Richard Graye was probably a sea-captain as well as one of Gonson's servants, see L.P., XIX(ii).502(4). For Gonson see G.R.Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government, 1953, pp.149-150, 153. Graye may have been the "expert man" sent with Thirlby to Spain to purchase two pinnaces with which communication between England and Spain could be kept in "better order": L.P., XVII.App.B(22, p.734 and 24).

56. A William Estrigge was "hostiliarius" of the convent of St. Alban's in February 1538 and was being paid a pension by the Crown in December of the following year: L.P., XIII(i).196, L.P., XV.p.547.

presente Your Majestie with dyverse costelye boxes of marmelado, given to him by the said freers, and suspected to have within them thinges of daunger and great perill...". Bonner reported that the marmelade would be shipped to England in the "Saber of Brisowe". Bonner seems to have taken this threat to the king's life very seriously for he urged Graye to tell Henry and the Council of it "with spede and secretnes". There is, however, no record of any further action being taken in England.

Bonner probably knew some of the merchants of Bilbao, and it is possible that he assisted them in any difficulties they had with the Spanish authorities. On one occasion the Privy Council particularly requested Bonner to help one Thomas Burnynghyll in his suits in Spain. The merchants of Bilbao forwarded the ambassador's letters to England, and Thomas Holland, who may in his youth have been one of Thomas Cromwell's servants, was commissioned by Bonner to buy "coltes and mules" after the ambassador had obtained a licence for their export to England.<sup>57</sup>

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57. L.P., XVII.791: St.P., ix, p.168 (L.P., XVII.789); L.P., XVIII(i).52. In November 1536 Thomas Holland, treasurer to the late Duke of Richmond and J.P. for Lincolnshire (Holland), wrpte to Cromwell that he sent his son to enter the minister's service as he was too old to serve himself. It is possible that the son was also named Thomas and is to be identified with Bonner's correspondent: L.P., VIII.259, L.P., V.119(64), 838(19), L.P., XL.1030. The Thomas Holland who in 1554 was collated in the rectory of Bursted-Parva, Essex, a benefice in Bonner's patronage, may have been related to the Lincolnshire family: New., ii, p.118. In May 1545 certain complaints were delivered to the Imperialists by the English, giving particulars of wrongs sustained by English merchants. Among these were the injuries to William Burninghamill, Thomas Draper and John Lownde in October 1536, July 1537 and November 1537; L.P., XX(i).1202 (4 ii). Thomas Burninghamill's suits may have been connected with William's losses.

His servants and the merchants were not Bonner's only sources of information and news. His useful acquaintances at the Imperial court included the "lovyng & secret frende", who one "night com(m)ing out of the feldes" gave him a copy of the emperor's answer to the French declaration of war, which Bonner promptly despatched to Henry VIII. It was from the secretary of the Nuncio himself that Bonner managed to obtain a copy of the indictment of the General Council to Trent.<sup>58</sup> From either of those men he may also have obtained the Pope's proclamation of a jubilee for a subsidy to be levied against the Turk. It is possible that he was able to obtain a copy of the Emperor's proclamation of a Diet in Germany and the translation of the Senate of Cologne's denunciation of "certeyn preachours and seditious naughtie persons",<sup>59</sup> without relying on the friendship or cupidity of minor figures at the emperor's court.

As on his embassy to Francis I, so in 1542 and 1543, Bonner was careful to make the acquaintance of other ambassadors resident with Charles V. His awareness of the importance of such contacts is illustrated by the fact that he took care to inform the king of the illness and arrival of new ambassadors from the Italian states. On one occasion the ambassador of Ferrara gave Bonner useful information which he could not obtain from the Imperial ministers.

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58. P.R.O.: S.P.1/173, f.26 (L.P., XVII.796); St.P., ix, p.210 (L.P., XVII.1604); ibid., p.170 (L.P., XVII.790).

59. St.P., ix, p.132 (L.P., XVII.669(1, 2 11)); L.P., XVII.796; St.P., ix, p.170 (L.P., XVII.790); ibid., p.209 (L.P., XVII.1004); ibid., p.404 (L.P., XVIII(1).688); ibid., p.487 (L.P., XVIII(11).73), see also L.P., XVIII(11).224.

It is possible however that it was with Cesare Gonzaga, the Mantuan ambassador, that Bonner was on the most intimate terms. Although Bonner did not dispel Gonzaga's belief that his journey to Spain had been to negotiate the marriage of Charles V and the Princess Mary, they had a number of secret conversations. From Bonner and not from the Imperialists, Gonzaga learnt in April 1543 of the terms of the Anglo-Imperial treaty.<sup>60</sup> It is possible that Bonner, in his anxiety to obtain Italian news, was at times indiscreet.

Although during his embassy to Spain Bonner was on no occasion given a commission which involved awkward negotiation, he did not please either the Imperialists or the English. Before he had been in Spain three months, his financial demands had so irritated Granvelle that the Imperial minister complained to Chapuys. The Privy Council probably told Bonner to be more modest and to take the Bishop of Westminster as an example. A more serious complaint against Bonner was that of the emperor in a letter to his ambassador on 23 January 1543. Charles V declared that although Bonner was perfectly well-informed by Henry and the Council of the negotiations in England "he has not yet taken any notice or in anywise

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60. See above, chap. 7, p. 196 ; St.P., ix, p.208 (L.P., XVII.1004); see also ibid., p.168 (L.P., XVII.789); ibid., p.566 (L.P., XVIII(ii).457). In his letter of 22 April 1542 Gonzaga wrote that Bonner came to negotiate the marriage, and on 21 July he was still reporting the possibility of such an alliance. On 5 May Bonner and Knyvett wrote that everybody in Spain thought that Bonner had come for the marriage: St.P., ix, p.11 (L.P., XVII.292), see also L.P., XVII.392, 400. Gonzaga's letters of 22 April, 5, 12, 21 July, 13 December, 1542, 23 January and 25 April 1543 are at Mantua, b. 441.

alluded to the subject, but is now three or four leagues from this place (i.e. Madrid), hunting and making good cheer, without thinking in the least of his master's affairs...since the receipt of his despatch he has neither spoken nor written to Us about it".<sup>61</sup> Eighteen months later Wotton, Bonner's successor as English resident with the emperor, wrote to Paget that Granvelle "for a merve tale" remarked that "my lorde of london/ wolde sende to hym to know newes owt of England. the which/ (he sayde) al other shuld have learnid of hym".<sup>62</sup>

The English Privy Council was annoyed with Bonner as early as February 1543. On 17 of that month Chapuys wrote to the emperor that members of the Council "do own that he (the Bishop of London) was guilty of indiscretion...All here desire his recall, and will do that they can to accomplish it". In his letter of 15 April describing the emperor's ratification of the treaty of alliance Bonner emphasized that Charles would not "make expedicion and accomplishment of my request and desire, but put it over from tyme to tyme and place to place, ever lokyng for spetiall advertisement from his...Ambassadour". The Bishop of London continued with the hope "that such wrytinges, as nowe from hense are sent to Your Majestie, albeit they have taried lenger than I desired, shall yet by the good and gracious acceptation of Your Majestie, considering what busynes I have had with thies men to frame theym therein,

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61. L.P., XVII.App.B(23); Sp. Cal., VI(11), pp.237-238 (L.P., XVIII(1).69).

62. P.R.O.: S.P.1/189, r.211 (L.P., XX(1).852).



accomplishe every parte of my charge declared in Your Graces letters, for that was and is <sup>my</sup> earnest travayle and desire". When this letter arrived in England all the Councillors, Chapuys wrote, were "exceedingly displeased at the bishop of London having written that Your Imperial Majesty on receiving intelligence of the treaty of closer friendship and alliance had not shown any very great satisfaction at it, and also notwithstanding all his solicitations he (the bishop) had made for its immediate ratification, Your Imperial Majesty had kept it back nine or ten days. And the Privy Councillors considering that such reports and bad offices on the part of the English ambassador (in Spain) might engender suspicion and ill-feeling between Your Imperial Majesty and this king, have decided to apply for his recall."

It is possible, as Prof. L.B.Smith suggested, that "the Council was acutely embarrassed to have the Imperialists know that the English were dissatisfied with their new allies and doubted their veracity". But the Imperialists would not necessarily have construed Bonner's anger at the delay as indicating the dissatisfaction of the English government. Nor does the Privy Council seem to have been worried by the lapse of time before Chapuys received the emperor's ratification from the regent in the middle of May. The Council's displeasure with the English ambassador had been growing since the previous February and was probably caused by Bonner's fussiness and self-importance. At the

request of his ministers Henry VIII agreed that Bonner should be recalled as soon as the Imperial court reached Flanders.<sup>63</sup>

During the last few months of his embassy Bonner was in the unhappy position of being trusted neither by Henry VIII, nor by the emperor. Bonner complained that "thEmperour doth his thinges wondrous closelye". When Granvelle told Bonner that he had heard from Chapuys that Henry and the Council "mervayle that they have/ not oftener advyse of the successe of things here" the Bishop of London replied indignantly that "we are noo frenchma(n), but write oonlie thoos thinges that we knowe/ & whiche be true & certeyne, & not fa(n)tasies, or devises". The emperor not only preferred to convey his news to Henry via Chapuys, but in the middle of September 1543 he sent Chantonnay, one of Granvelle's sons, to declare personally to the English King the story of the Imperial successes in Flanders. The other English ambassadors seem to have written more frequently and sometimes to have despatched news some days before Bonner reported it. For instance it was on 30 August that Dr. Wotton, the English ambassador with the regent, wrote of the fall of Landresey because he "did not think the ambassadors would write of it!"<sup>64</sup> The failure of the Imperialists

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63. Sp.Cal., VI(ii), pp.246-247. This seems to be part of Chapuys' letter to Charles V and not to the regent as it is printed in Sp.Cal., see L.P., XVIII(i).171, 176; St.P., ix, pp.356, 358 (L.P., XVIII(i).406); Sp.Cal., VI(ii), pp.385-386 (L.P., XVIII(i).684); L.B.Smith, Tudor Prelates and Politics 1536-1538, Princeton Studies in History, viii, 1953, p.80; L.P., XVIII(i).511, 570.

64. St.P., ix, p.501 (L.P., XVIII(ii).142); P.R.O.: S.P., 1/181, f. 173 (L.P., XVIII(ii).224); L.P., XVIII(ii).96, 179, 251; St.P., ix, p.489 (L.P., XVII(ii).97); ibid., p.495 (L.P., XVIII(ii).126; ibid., p.500 (L.P., XVIII(ii).142); L.P., XVIII(ii).151.

to communicate regularly with Bonner made it impossible for him to fulfil his task and co-operate with the other Englishmen in sending frequent reports to Henry VIII.<sup>65</sup>

Nor was Bonner trusted by the English Council to undertake a new commission. On 25 September the Privy Council wrote to the bishop ordering him to tell Granvelle that Henry VIII would keep his soldiers in Flanders for one month longer than the original agreement stipulated. The Council informed Bonner that the king "mynded shortely to sende a personage expresse unto Him (the emperor), by whom He shuld at more lenght undrestand His Graces mynde". At the beginning of October Sir Francis Bryan was sent to communicate "quelques choses concernantes la continuation de noz amities, et pour estre aupres de vostre Personne (Charles V), tant que seriez avec vostre armée sur les champs..." Bonner knew Bryan: indeed, in 1538 he had complained to Cromwell of Sir Francis' behaviour and extravagance.<sup>66</sup>

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65. For instance Wotton wrote to England on 6, 8, 9, and 12 September: L.P., XVIII(ii).140, 151, 162, 177; Bonner wrote on 7 September and does not seem to have written thereafter for three weeks: L.P., XVIII(ii).142, 224. The Privy Council complained that Bonner did not send news frequently enough: L.P., XVIII(ii).102, 224.

66. St.P., ix, p.515 (L.P., XVIII(ii)216(1)); ibid., p.561 (L.P., XVIII(ii).418); see above, chap. 7, p.194; the letter from Henry VIII to Charles V announcing that he was sending Bryan, which is in Vienna, is dated 1 October, but the abstract printed Sp.Cal. VI(ii), pp.494-495 (L.P., XVII(ii).253) is dated 4 October. Chapuys' letter to Granvelle of 5 October was carried by Bryan: L.P., XVIII(ii).254.

On 23 October Bonner and Bryan had an audience with Granvelle. They had been commissioned to congratulate Charles on his victory over the Duke of Cleves, to tell him of the English successes in Scotland, to discuss plans for the campaigns of the following year and to consider the possibility of negotiations with the Duke of Holstein. In their interview with the emperor on the following day the two English ambassadors repeated what they had said to Granvelle, adding that Henry VIII was very anxious that the English and Imperial navies should stop the French herring boats. Granvelle gave the ambassadors the Imperial answers to the English suggestions, asserting that as yet it was impossible for the emperor to determine what should be done in the following year. Charles sent orders to de Bevres, the admiral in Holland and Zeeland, that action should be taken against the French herring fleets. The emperor did not want the king to interfere between him and the Duke of Holstein. Charles wrote to Chapuys that Bryan and Bonner seemed satisfied with Granvelle's answers.<sup>67</sup>

Until their recall in December Bryan seems to have taken a much larger part in the negotiations with the emperor than Bonner.

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67. Sp.Cal., VI(ii), pp.494-495, 506-507, 516-517 (L.P., XVIII(ii).296); ibid., pp.507-512 (L.P., XVIII(ii).305). The Sp.Cal., describes this as letters from Chapuys, the Calendar more convincingly attributes them to Granvelle, especially as mention is made of the son of the writer, and nothing is known of a son of Chapuys: Sp.Cal. p.495 note, L.P., XVIII(ii), p.166 note.

At the beginning of November, only Sir Francis was present with the English captains at the meeting of the emperor's council. Although on 26 October Bonner and Bryan wrote a joint letter to Henry VIII, and on 5 December the two ambassadors with Dr. Wotton sent a despatch to England, two other letters from Sir Francis to the king have survived. On 13 and 19 November he wrote of audiences he alone had had with the emperor and the regent. On 28 October the Privy Council sent instructions to Bryan: he was to go to the emperor to suggest to him that encounters with the enemy should be avoided for the remainder of the autumn. In this letter no mention was made of Bonner.<sup>68</sup>

On 24 November the king wrote to the emperor to recall Bonner and Bryan, and to replace them with Wotton. Henry explained that he recalled the ambassadors "pour les employer icy". When Wotton had arrived at the Imperial court, Bonner declared to the emperor Henry's wish to revoke him and Bryan, and presented Wotton. The emperor parted from Bonner with the words that "yt was a naturall affection in every man to be desirous to retourne home to his countrey, and therefore, the thinge soo standing, He coulde not be

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68. L.P., XVIII(ii).337; St.P., ix, p.538 (L.P., XVIII(ii).345); The despatch written by Bonner and Bryan to Henry VIII on 26 October is missing: It was referred to in the letter of the Privy Council to the two ambassadors on 2 November: ibid., p.532 (L.P., XVIII(ii).331); ibid., p.563 (L.P., XVIII(ii).457); ibid., p.549 (L.P., XVIII(ii).380); ibid., p.555 (L.P., XVIII(ii).403). See also Bryan's letter to Paget in which he made no mention of his colleague: L.P., XVIII(ii).303; Sp.Cal., VI(ii). pp.514-516 (L.P., XVIII(ii).403).

againiste yt, but contented M<sup>r</sup> Bryan and I shoulde retourne to the presence of Your Majestie".<sup>69</sup>

In this, his last embassy abroad, Bonner was on no occasion given a commission which required outstanding skill in negotiation. Nevertheless he failed to please either the English Council or the emperor and his ministers. In the eleven years since he had first been sent on a diplomatic mission, Bonner had not learnt to control his impatience or to disguise his conviction that other nations should on all occasions be anxious for his master's alliance. More than once he may have considered the differences between Henry and Charles to be merely "small poyntes". Nor did his importunity make it easier for him to ingratiate himself with the Imperialists. On this embassy to Charles V in 1542 and 1543 only the emperor's great desire for the English alliance prevented a repetition of Bonner's dramatic recall in 1540.

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69. St.P., ix, p.561 (L.P., XVIII(ii).418); L.P., XVIII(ii).419. There is also a copy of Henry's letter to the regent in Vienna, E.H.K. 1. St.P., ix, p.565 (L.P., XVIII(ii).457).

Part Three: Bishop of London.

## Chapter 9.

### Bonner's Public Service in England, 1535-1547

Bonner's career was not interrupted by Cromwell's fall in 1540, although it is possible that the bishop's failure in his embassy to France from 1538 to 1540 contributed to the weakening of Cromwell's position with the king. The hostility of the emperor and the French King to Henry VIII had persuaded Cromwell of the necessity of the Cleves Alliance. Bonner had done nothing to increase Francis' friendship towards Henry, and indeed the ambassador's recall was a necessary preliminary to the re-establishment of more cordial relations between England and France. It is possible that another ambassador might have been able to overcome the Imperialist sympathies of the French court during 1539, and might have saved Cromwell from negotiating the Cleves alliance. Although the king's dislike of Cromwell's foreign policy was not the only reason for the minister's fall,<sup>1</sup> the circumstances of Bonner's recall in February 1540 cannot have strengthened Cromwell's position.

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1. See above, chap. 7, p.234; G.R.Elton, "Thomas Cromwell's Decline and Fall", The Cambridge Historical Journal, x, 1951, pp.169-170.



To have made a gesture of loyalty to Cromwell after his arrest might seriously have endangered Bonner's future career and his relationship with the king. There is no evidence that Bonner ever contemplated taking such a risk. Although Bonner had probably been absent from the Lords on other occasions he was present on 17 June 1540 when the bill for Cromwell's attainder was first read and again two days later when all the peers present assented to the bill. Nor does he seem to have found any reason not to attend the session on 29 June when Cromwell's attainder was concluded.<sup>2</sup>

It is possible that when Cromwell was under arrest Bonner even went so far as to deny his past friendship with the Lord Privy Seal. Foxe declared that "so long as Cromwell remained in authority, so long was Bonner at his beck, and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemy...But so soon as Cromwell fell... no good word could Bonner speak of Cromwell, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that he could speak, calling him the rankest heretic that ever lived...the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended,...Grafton, who before had been very familiar with Bonner,<sup>3</sup> met with the said Bonner suddenly, and said unto him, that he was sorry to hear of the news that was then abroad. "What are they?" said he. "Of the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell",

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2. Journals of the House of Lords, 1, n.d., pp.145-146.

3. See above, chap. 7, pp.208-209.

said Crafton, "Are ye sorry for that?" said he. "It had been good that he had been dispatched long ago!"<sup>4</sup>

Bonner may have spoken thus because he feared that the king would associate him in his anger against Cromwell. Such alarm was probably partially quieted when on 4 July a royal patent was issued acquitting Bonner of some of the debts he owed to the Crown for the Bishopric of Hereford.<sup>5</sup> The king may have seen no danger in continuing to show favour to Bonner, especially as the bishop may indeed have made a particular effort to dissociate himself from Cromwell.

Bonner's service to the Crown was not confined to the diplomatic negotiations he undertook as Henry's ambassador in Italy, Germany, Spain and France. Apart from a little writing<sup>6</sup> done at the king's command, he served as a judge in the Court of Requests and on special commissions to determine matrimonial and commercial disputes. He is also known to have attended Convocation and, after he became Bishop of London, he was a member of the House of Lords.

Record has survived of some of the miscellaneous services which Bonner performed for the Crown between 1540 and 1547. Some of these were hardly more than ceremonial duties. For instance

4. J.Foxe, Acts and Monuments..., ed., J.Pratt and J.Stoughton, v, (1877), p.413.

5. L.P., XV.942(21), see above chap. 3, p.77 .

6. See below, chap.12, p.412 - p.416.

on two occasions in 1542 the Bishop of London accompanied the Imperial ambassadors when they went to Court. In July 1546, when peace had finally been concluded with France, French ambassadors came to England to take Henry VIII's oath to the peace treaty. After they had journeyed from the coast they were entertained at the Bishop of London's house. Bonner may have been chosen for these tasks because of his diplomatic experience or simply because, as Bishop of London, he was the distinguished ecclesiastic most readily available to show honour to foreign visitors.

Occasionally Bonner was asked to safeguard prisoners who could not be put into the common gaol. One such prisoner whom the Bishop of London entertained was Octavien, a Milanese armourer, whom the Council wished to investigate. It is possible that the Council remembered Bonner's knowledge of Italian and wished him to find out from the armourer why he was in England.<sup>7</sup>

Bonner was obliged, as Bishop of London and one of the spiritual peers of the realm, to provide the king with soldiers when he was at war. In 1544 Henry had declared war on Francis I and Bonner was listed in the muster book as being responsible for one hundred and fifty archers and two hundred and fifty bilmen or halberdiers.<sup>8</sup>

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7. L.P., XVII.App.B(1); L.P., XXI(1).1384(11); Sp.Cal., VII. pp.134-135 (L.P., XIX(1).470).

8. P.R.O.: S.P., 1/184, f.93 (L.P., XIX(1).273).

As well as these ceremonial duties, Bonner served the king by acting on royal commissions. In some cases, such as his service on the commissions to investigate <sup>the enforcement of</sup> the Act of Six Articles, his duties were those of a bishop maintaining the established order of religion.<sup>9</sup> But in certain other cases the bishop was acting as a lawyer, a tax-collector or a property-valuer.

In August 1540 Bonner, Thirlby, Carne, John Oliver, Richard Gwent, Anthony Bellasis and William Ryvet,<sup>10</sup> all doctors of law were appointed to hear and determine the complaint of one Thomas Parry against Anne Fortescue.<sup>11</sup> Parry claimed that Anne Fortescue, a widow, had contracted marriage with him, but had later refused to live with him. A Thomas Parry had been Cromwell's servant and it is possible that through the Lord Privy Seal he had obtained a marriage contract with Anne after her first husband, Sir Adrian, had been attainted and executed during 1539. She appears to have been recognized as Parry's wife in 1542, and it is probable that the Commission's decision had been in Parry's favour. Although

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9. Reg. Bon. f.17v., see also Foxe, op.cit., App.ix, and below chap.12 p.430. Bonner's behaviour towards heretics falls outside the scope of this thesis, for a study of his treatment of heretics before 1549 would be a preliminary to the study of his actions in Mary's reign.
10. Bonner had known Thirlby, Carne and Gwent for some years: see above, chap. 7, p.195 and chap. 2, p.60, and below chap.12, p.445. He probably also knew John Oliver, a member of Doctors' Commons since 1522, who had been one of Wolsey's commissaries: see Oliver's biography in D.N.B. For Bonner's acquaintance with Bellasis and Ryvet: see below, chap.11 p.360 and chap.11, p.355.
11. L.P., XV.1027(45).

there is no other record which shows Bonner acting on a commission specially issued to determine a matrimonial dispute, it is possible that he served on other similar commissions.<sup>12</sup>

Bonner was one of the commissioners appointed to collect the subsidy. On 2 October 1540 the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Chancellor that the king had appointed the mayor of London, the Earl of Sussex, the Lord Admiral, the bishops of Durham, Winchester and London and the chancellors of the Court of Augmentations and the Court of First Fruits and Tenths to be the commissioners for the collections of the subsidy in London. Bonner may have been appointed to collect the subsidy from the laity on other occasions, at all events he was a collector of the subsidy of the clergy in 1542, 1544 and 1545. There have survived three receipts from Bonner to William Latymer, master of the college of St. Laurence Pountney, for "a certain annual pension and a certain subsidy of the clergy". Bonner probably delegated most of the administrative detail of the collection to his diocesan officials, for these receipts were signed respectively by Robert Smyth, Thomas Staunton described as vice-collector, and John Crook, vicar-general. Nevertheless the bishop probably had the ultimate responsibility for collecting the subsidy from his

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12. L.P., XV.1029(67); L.P., XIV(1).867, c.15, L.P., XIV(1).1192(3); L.P., XVII.1012(2).

clergy.<sup>13</sup>

In February 1546 Bonner was appointed to the commissions to survey the chantries in Essex, Hertfordshire, Colchester, London, Westminster and Middlesex. In November 1545 an act had been passed by Parliament for the dissolution of the chantries, those endowments which provided for masses to be sung for the souls of the departed. Among other things, the commissioners in 1546 were required to find out how many chantries there were in each parish, what were the conditions of endowment, where the chantries were and exactly how much income and plate belonged to each. Bonner took an active part in the work of these commissions. In March he signed the letters sent by the commissioners to the Aldermen of the ward of St. Michael Queenhithe and to the rector, vicar, curate or churchwardens of St. Laurence Poultry.<sup>14</sup> Henry VIII's death in January 1547 interrupted these commissions, and when the names of new commissioners were announced in February 1548 Bonner's was not among them. Bonner's responsibility in the survey of 1546 was probably confined to seeing that all who were asked to do so filled in the questionnaires sent out by the commissioners.

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13. L.P., XVI.112, L.P., XVII.73, L.P., XIX(1).82, L.P., XX(1).2. For Thomas Staunton, see below, chap.10 p.338. For John Crook, see below, chap.11, p.357. For Bonner's responsibility to the Crown for the payments of the subsidy from the clergy, and his debts to the Crown in this behalf, see below, chap.10, p.294.
14. L.P., XXI(1).302(30), p.146; D.Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, iii, 1737, p.875; P.R.O.: E.301/128, E.301/126.

Bonner did not refuse to serve on these commissions; although he was later to vote against a bill for the dissolution of the chantries it seems likely that at this time he acquiesced in the principle of dissolution.<sup>15</sup>

Bonner was a member of Henry VIII's council. In a letter to Cromwell in 1539 he remarked that the employment of Mr. Honnyng as his secretary would not endanger his "othe giffen what tyme I was sworne of his gr(ace)s counsell/ swering therin apo(n)n a boke to kepe it sacrete".<sup>16</sup> It is unlikely that he was a member of the inner ring, or privy council. He was one of the "councillors at large", who selected from the body of the whole council, served as judges in the Court of Requests.<sup>17</sup>

On three occasions during 1541, however, the Bishop of London was co-opted to serve with those privy councillors who had been left in London while the king was on progress with the rest of the privy council. On these occasions Bonner and the other councillors did not deal with matters of government policy, but

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15. G.R.Elton, England under the Tudors, 1955, p.205; C.P.R., 1548-1549, pp.135-137; Journals, op.cit. p.313.
16. P.R.O.: S.P.1/144, f.46 (L.P., XIV(i).450. The Calendar omits this sentence). In a bill presented in Chancery at some date between 1533 and 1538 Bonner described himself as "of the kings most honourable/ counsell": P.R.O.: C.1/742/55.
17. C.G.Bayne and W.H.Dunham, Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII, Selden Society, lxxv for 1956, 1958, pp.xli-xlii; W.H. Dunham, "Henry VIII's Whole Council and Its Parts" The Huntington Library Quarterly, vii, 1943-1944, p.21. It is unlikely that Bonner sat as a judge in Star Chamber. No evidence has survived which would indicate his presence there, nor is he in the list of judges of the Star Chamber from 1518 to 1558 in B.M. Lansdowne Ms.125, f.3, quoted by I.S.Leadam, Select Cases in the Court of Requests A.D.1497-1569, Selden Society, xii, 1898, p.6viii.

with details of administration. On 8 July 1541 Bonner signed the letter from the Council in London to the Council with the king which discussed the disposal of the lands of an attainted peer. Three weeks later the Council in London wrote of the apprehension of two Spanish priests. After Cranmer, Bonner and Thirlby had talked with them, one of them was committed to the Bishop of London's custody. Both Bonner and Thirlby signed the Council's letter about these priests. Similarly Bonner's signature to the letter from the Council in London to the Council with the king on 15 October 1541 signified only that he had again been co-opted, and that he had discussed with the privy councillors in London thefts which had occurred at Windsor Castle.<sup>18</sup>

Although in the 1530s the Court of Requests described itself simply as the king's Council, it was referred to as a court and had a fixed personnel. It determined civil causes and at the end of Henry VIII's reign it was staffed by civil ~~law~~ lawyers. Bonner was probably acting in the Court of Requests in 1538 when his signature was appended to a bill submitted by Sir Richard Brereton complaining against the prior of Launde in Leicestershire. It has been argued that the councillors, whose names appear on many of the documents in the files of the Court of Requests, did the actual work of the court. Between 1535 and 1540 these coun-

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18. L.P., XVI.978, 1047, 1261. See also A.F.Pollard, "Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors, III, The Privy Council", E.H.R., xxxviii, 1923, p.47 note.



cillors included, besides Bonner, his friends Edward Carne and Thomas Thirlby as well as Nicholas Hare, Richard Sampson, John Tregonwell, William Sulyard and Richard Wolman. It is possible that Bonner had taken his oath as a councillor and his place in the Court of Requests as early as 1526. He was included in a list "of such counsaylors as did sytt in the Courte of Requests in the tyme of kinge Henrye the viij<sup>th</sup>...anno xvij".<sup>19</sup>

As well as his service in the Court of Requests Bonner, on two occasions at least, acted as a judge in cases of piracy. It is not possible to know whether Bonner held an office in the High Court of Admiralty. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the civil~~ian~~ lawyers had established themselves in the Admiral's Court and the proceedings were regulated by the civil law. Between 1529 and 1537 John Tregonwell was the official principal in the High Court of Admiralty and Anthony Huse was his deputy. Appeals from the Court of Admiralty lay originally to the king in chancery but in the Tudor period the king appointed civil~~ian~~ lawyers as judges delegate to hear appeals.<sup>20</sup>

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19. G.R.Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government, 1953, pp.135-136; Leadam, op.cit., pp. x, xvi; P.R.O.: Req.2/12/184, f.8; B.M.: Lansdowne Ms. 12, f.125, quoted by Leadam, op.cit., p. ciii, see also B.M.: Add.Ms.25248, ff.8-9, quoted by Leadam, op.cit., p.cvi.
20. W.Senior, Doctors' Commons and the Old Court of Admiralty, 1922, p.33, W.Senior, <sup>con,</sup> "The First Admiralty Judges", The Law Quarterly Review, 1919, p.82, P.R.O.: H.C.A. 3/2, W.S.Holdsworth, A History of English Law, i, ed. A.L.Goodhart and H.G.Hanbury, 1956, p.547, See also R.G.Marsden, Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty, i, Seldon Society, vi, 1892, p. lix.

There is one case where Bonner is known to have acted as a judge in such an appeal. In August 1537, after a fight off the coast of Flanders between ships belonging to M. de Rochepot, brother of the French Constable de Montmorency, and ships belonging to some German merchants, one of the German vessels was commandeered by the French. It was driven into Whitby, either by storms or by two English ships from Newcastle. The English government claimed the right to settle the dispute between the French and the Germans over the possession of the prize ship. On 29 October and 12 November 1537 libels were presented in the principal court of Admiralty before Anthony Huse. In November or December Cromwell appointed certain doctors "to hear the cause of Mons. de Rochpott's agents". William Petre, John Tregonwell, Edward Carne and Bonner, sitting in Whitehall in the presence of the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, the Lord Admiral, Cromwell and others, gave sentence on 1 February 1538 in favour of the Germans.<sup>21</sup>

In 1546 Bonner was again acting as a commissioner in mercantile disputes. His legal as well as his diplomatic experience probably fitted him for the task he was given. English and Imperial commerce had been interrupted by embargoes imposed on English goods in Spain and, in retaliation, on Spanish goods in

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21. For details of the allegations on each side, see L.P., XIV(ii).779; P.R.O.: H.C.A. 24/4; No decree appears to have survived in the Admiralty records; L.P., XII(ii).1151(2); P.R.O.: S.P.1/156, ff.42-44 (L.P., XIV(ii).779(ii)); See above, chap. 7, p.219.

England. In order to resume peaceful commercial intercourse it was agreed during the spring of 1546 that two English Councillors should confer with the Spanish ambassador in England and a second Imperial envoy to be sent to England. They were to discuss the grievances of Spanish merchants against the English and also the rates of customs exacted on goods imported into England from Flanders.<sup>22</sup>

In April 1546 Nicholas Wotton and William Petre were appointed by the king as commissioners to confer with the ambassadors. However, they were not authorized to settle the chief grievance, the complaints of both the emperor and certain Spanish merchants against an English ship captain, Renegat, whose seizure of a Spanish ship had occasioned the Spanish embargo on English goods. Discussion of this dispute was entrusted to Secretary Paget.<sup>23</sup> Before 14 May 1546, Bonner and the Dean of St. Paul's, William May, had replaced Wotton and Petre.

The bishop and his colleague continued their discussions for many months. In October 1546 the Privy Council issued letters ordering merchants from Wrexham, Yarmouth, Boston and Hull to appear

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22. L.P., XXI(1).120; L.P., XXI(1), p.viii; Sp.Cal., VIII, p.371 (L.P., XXI(1).550, p.271); ibid., pp.377-378 (L.P., XX(1).558).

23. For Charles V's claim to the specie captured by Renegat, see Sp.Cal., VIII, 364, p.524 note. Sp.Cal., VIII, pp.377-378 (L.P., XXI(1).588).

before Bonner and the other English and Imperial commissioners. It is probable that Bonner and May had given their opinions in the disputes before the middle of June 1547, but the final settlement had been left pending. It was Paget who, after consultation with the commissioners, negotiated this with the Imperial ambassador during the following three months.<sup>24</sup>

Bonner's membership of Convocation may partly explain his presence at Lambeth on 17 May 1536 when a number of eminent ecclesiastics, in the presence of ministers and peers, investigated the validity of Henry VIII's marriage with Anne Boleyn. He was then archdeacon of Leicester, but that dignity would not have entitled him to participate in such high matters of state. It is more likely that he was chosen because of his distinction as a lawyer. Another contributory factor may have been his reputation for being "a safe man", who would do what was expected of him without raising awkward issues.<sup>25</sup>

Whatever the importance of his membership of Convocation with regard to the Boleyn investigation, Bonner's elevation to the episcopate did not initiate his service in this body. Indeed, in June 1536 he probably played an important role in the election of Richard Gwent as prolocutor of the lower house.<sup>26</sup> However, unless

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24. Sp.Cal., VIII, p.395 (L.P., XXI(i).826), L.P., XXI(i).963(117); L.P., XXI(ii).229; Sp.Cal., IX, pp.104, 109-110, 135.

25. T.Wilkins, op.cit., p.803.

26. J.Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, 1(i), 1822, p.378.

he had already been chosen proctor for the clergy of one of the dioceses in which he held a living, his appointment as arch-deacon of Leicester in 1535 would have been the first time he was entitled to a seat in the lower house, and the Convocation of 1536 would have been the first opportunity of displaying an influence over the assembly.

Bonner attended the Convocation of July 1540 as Bishop of London, and took his place when fourteen bishops of both provinces and twenty-six other senior clergy met in the Chapter House of St. Peter's Westminster. Bonner was one of the fourteen bishops and clergy chosen to investigate and examine the reasons for the invalidity of Henry VIII's marriage with Anne of Cleves. However, Bonner was not a member of the committee of five chosen from the fourteen to proceed to a close investigation of all the writings and circumstances of the marriage. Bonner signed the judgement of the united Convocation that the marriage was void.<sup>27</sup>

Bonner left England to travel to Spain before Convocation completed its meetings in 1542, and there is no evidence to show that he took any particular part in the proceedings of Convocation from its assembly on 27 January until his departure about 10 Feb-

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27. Wilkins, op.cit., pp.851-855.

ruary. Bonner was still abroad when Convocation met in the spring of 1543. Bonner had returned to England when Convocation met in the following year and it is likely that he was concerned in the discussions in February and March 1544 on the revision of canon law.<sup>28</sup> As Bishop of London Bonner was responsible for ensuring that the writs summoning the Bishops to Convocation were forwarded from the Archbishop of Canterbury to his diocesans.<sup>29</sup> The paucity of the records of Convocation make it difficult to know how great a part Bonner played in its proceedings, but it would be unlikely if the influence of the Bishop of London was not sometimes of importance in Convocation's debates.

After he became Bishop of London, Bonner had a record of fairly regular attendance in the Lords. Bonner presented the writ summoning him to appear in Parliament and took his place among the spiritual lords on 12 April 1540. With the Bishops of Winchester and Ely he held the proxy for the Bishop of Norwich. In his first parliament Bonner was present at, and possibly made his own contribution to, the debates on such secular matters as the bills concerning unjust disseisin, joint tenures, paving in Holborn, the subsidy and attainders. He was present on 6 July 1540 when the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes

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28. ibid., pp.860, 869.

29. See for instance (i) Cranmer's letter to Bonner of 10 December 1541 enclosing a letter from the king to the archbishop saying that Convocation would meet on 20 January following, (ii) Bonner's letters to Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and the archdeacon of London of 11 December, forwarding Cranmer's letter, (iii) the certificate made on 8 January by Richard Gwent to Bonner concerning the execution of Bonner's letter, (iv) Bonner's certificate sent

of Suffolk and Norfolk and the Bishop of Durham addressed the Lords, in the person of the Chancellor, requesting that they should agree that the question of the validity of the king's marriage to Anne of Cleves should be determined in Convocation. Six days later he heard the reading of the bill for the dissolution of the king's marriage.<sup>30</sup>

Bonner attended the first four days of the Parliament summoned in January 1542, and on 21 January heard the bill for the attainder of Katharine Howard read in the Lords. But the bishop was probably too busy with the preparations for his journey to be able to attend the meetings of the next few days and by 10 February he was on his way abroad. During the second session of this parliament, held from January to March 1543, Bonner was at the emperor's court. Bonner had returned by 14 January 1544 when the third session began, but he did not take his seat until 22 January when he heard the third reading of a bill concerning the reformation of canon law. Thereafter he was a fairly regular attender of the debates in the Lords. Bonner had been a member of the commission on doctrine appointed in 1540 but he does not seem to have served on any other of the commissions established

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29 (cont) to Cranmer on 12 January concerning the execution of Cranmer's wishes (v) the list of the bishops cited to appear in Convocation and (vi) the list of those in the diocese of London cited to appear: Reg. Bon. ff.32v-33v.

30. Journals, op.cit., pp.128, 153, 155.

by parliament in the next seven years. For instance, at the beginning of February 1544 both Gardiner and Thirlby served on a commission appointed to consider the king's style, but Bonner does not appear to have been on it.<sup>31</sup> As in the Parliament of 1540 the Lords were concerned with such varying topics as paving, conduits in London and the examination of canon law. Bonner served in the two sessions of Parliament, in the autumn of 1545 and in January 1547 until Parliament was dissolved on King Henry's death.

It is unfortunate that the records both of Convocation and of the Lords do not tell a more complete story of Bonner's activity. As Bishop of London Bonner was an important figure amongst the bishops who met either at St. Peter's Westminster and St. Paul's, or in the Lords. He may have felt that his diplomatic experience and the knowledge gained in administering his diocese qualified him to give his views on many topics, not only those of religious significance.

Before and after he became Bishop of London Bonner performed a number of miscellaneous services for the Crown. As has been seen, Cromwell's fall did not affect the development of his career.

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31. ibid., pp.164-168, see above, chap. 8, p.246, Journals, op.cit., pp.236-239; ibid., p.129, see below, chap.12, p.424; Journals, op.cit., p.243.



Whether by good luck or good management he continued in a position where he was called upon to perform many different services to the Crown. Bonner's public service in England is of too varied and miscellaneous a nature to reveal by itself Bonner's capacities or his reputation. The fact that he never became a member of the Privy Council may, however, show that he was not regarded by his contemporaries as a man of first-rate calibre. The ceremonial duties and administrative tasks which he undertook did not demand great political judgment.

## Chapter 10.

### The finances, lands and household of the Bishop of London, 1540-1560.

For approximately sixteen years Edmund Bonner controlled the lands of the diocese of London, and from the records which survive it is possible to discern something of the nature of his stewardship. The bishop's financial relations with the Crown, the changes he effected in the distribution of episcopal manors and the changes in the income of the diocese shed some light on Bonner's abilities as an administrator. His relations with his tenants and with his officials reveal more clearly the motives which governed his actions.

When he returned from France in March 1540 Bonner received formal royal assent to his election as Bishop of London<sup>1</sup> and on Sunday 4 April 1540 he was consecrated by Gardiner, Sampson and Skip in St. Paul's.<sup>2</sup> Between April 1540 and 1559 there were two interruptions to Bonner's episcopate. He was absent for almost two years in 1542 and 1543 when he was Henry's ambassador to

1. On 1 October 1539 Bonner wrote to the king thanking him for his translation to London. The *congé d'élire* to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's was issued on 11 October and the significavit of assent to the election was issued on 7 November: L.P., XIV(11).270, 435(10), 619(17) see also L.P., XIV(11).619(23), L.P., XV.836(82), 424.

2. Reg. Bon., f.31.

Charles V.<sup>3</sup> While he was in Spain he kept in touch with his officials and this absence did not mean a break in the continuity of his control of the diocese. More serious was his imprisonment in the Marshalsea between his deprivation in the autumn of 1549 and his restoration in 1553. Shortly after Mary's accession commissioners were appointed to investigate the trial of 1549 and on 2 March 1554 the Queen ratified their decision of the previous September restoring him to his bishopric.<sup>4</sup> The second half of Bonner's episcopate lasted until his deprivation by Elizabeth in 1559.

The story of Bonner's financial relations with the Crown is a prelude to the study of his diocesan administration. As Bishop of London Bonner owed the Crown first-fruits and tenths of his own income. The tenth was fixed first at £111.18.10 $\frac{1}{2}$  and in Ridley's episcopate reduced to a £100 a year.<sup>5</sup> He was also collector of the tenths and subsidies of his diocesan clergy and was responsible for the payment to the Court of First Fruits and Tenths of more than £1100 a year for diocesan tenths alone.<sup>6</sup> As well as having

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3. See above, chap. 8, pp.238-273; L.P., XVIII(i).789, 791.

4. See below, Epilogue, p.451; Bonner was released from prison on 5 August 1553: J.Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, III(i), 1822, p.27; C.P.R., 1553-1554, pp.74-75, p.121.

5. C.P.R., 1549-1551, p.263.

6. In 1547 diocesan tenths were calculated to £1176.15.9 altogether: see below, p.297.

to make his own contribution to the subsidy he had other miscellaneous financial duties: it was he who accounted for a pension paid to the king by the master of the college of St. Lawrence Pountney, and in 1558 he was responsible to the Exchequer for the revenues and expenses of the recently re-established monastery of St. Peter's Westminster. In some cases Bonner was slow to pay the sums due to the Crown. Not only did he simply fail to pay money he owed, but three times certain of his debts to the Crown were annulled.<sup>7</sup>

In a case before the Court of Augmentations in July 1546 Bonner claimed to be acquitted of certain debts owing to the Crown from the diocese of London. The bishops of London had paid the priory of St. John of Jerusalem an annual rent of £1 for the farm of a meadow in Wikeham, Essex and a pension of £2.13.4 from their rectory of Broxbourne in Hertfordshire. After the dissolution of the priory the Court of Augmentations claimed £3.13.4 a year from the Bishop of London. On 1 July Bonner, through his Receiver-General, Thomas Staunton, shewed William Rygges, an auditor of the Court of Augmentations, certain letters patent which were probably

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7. P.R.O.: S.P.12/2, f. 2; L.P., XVIII(i).101, L.P., XIX(i). 82, L.P., XX(i).2; Westminster Abbey Muniments 6488; P.R.O.: S.P.1/223, f.1 (L.P., XXI(i).1401).

those of 4 July 1540.<sup>8</sup> The bishop claimed that they discharged him from his predecessor's arrears in payments from Wikeham and Broxbourne. Of the sum owing to the priory the arrears amounted to £12.16.8. On 4 August the lords of the Court of Augmentations were "pleased to enlargeth the bisshopp of london's day for a matter in the said Auditor's office" until 20 August. On 14 August the Court inspected the letters patent and decided that "the same do extendeth to the discharge of debts but not of any arrerage of Rents as in this case". But although the Court ordered Bonner to pay, it was noted in the margin of the Court's order book that he was later discharged of this debt by the Privy Council. No date or reason for this discharge were given.<sup>9</sup>

Although in 1544 Bonner had been able to raise £300 as an aid to the king, by 1546 he was beginning to fall seriously in arrears with his payments to the Crown. His debts were caused mainly by his failure to pay the tenths which should have been collected from the diocesan clergy. In 1552 Petre noted that of £747.8.9. owing from the diocese of London for the tenths of 1546 and the subsidy

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8. P.R.O.: S.P.1/221, f.171 (L.P., XXI(1).1249(1)); P.R.O.: E.315/328, ff.32v.-33: I am grateful to Miss Sybil Thorpe for bringing to my attention to this volume. The pensions to the Priory were noted in 1535 in the Valor, i, p.357. In the grant of July 1540 Bonner was acquitted of "all arrears of debt as yet ungathered": L.P., XV.942(21).
9. P.R.O. S.P. 1/223, f. 1 (L.P., XXI(1).1401, the Calendar wrongly dates this document as 3 August 1546); P.R.O.: E.315/328, ff.33-33v.

of 1547 Bonner still owed the Court of First Fruits £189.15.5.<sup>10</sup> Similarly although he had paid £821.9.4 for tenths in 1547, Bonner still owed a further £355.6.5 together with £336.3.4 for the tenths of 1548.<sup>11</sup>

When Bonner was deprived in 1549 Ridley was not held responsible for his predecessor's debts: on the contrary, the Edwardian government demanded payment of his arrears from the imprisoned bishop. Bonner occasionally paid small sums towards the resolution of these debts. In February 1551 he paid thirty shillings and between February and July 1552 a total of £37.10.0. It would be interesting to know how and where Bonner collected the money to make these payments but unfortunately Petre's account book gives no indication. However, these were little more than a drop in the ocean of Bonner's debts to the Crown and it is probable that on Edward's death Bonner owed the Court of First-Fruits and Tenths over £1200, mainly arrears of diocesan tenths and subsidies.<sup>12</sup>

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10. L.P., XIX(ii).328; P.R.O.: S.P.10/16, f.95v. Both the tenths and the subsidy were paid to the Court of First-Fruits and Tenths ibid., see also G.R.Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government, 1953, pp.198, 203, 236 and L.P., XVI.580(8).
11. P.R.O.: S.P.10/16, f.95v.; P.R.O.: E.336/27/2. f.19v.; P.R.O.: E.318/1685, m.2:
12. Articles of certain grants to be made to the said bishop (i.e. Ridley) by letters patent, 28 March 4 Edward VI(i.e.1550). This grant does not appear in the two patents granting the Bishopric of London to Ridley, but it seems likely that he was granted a release from Bonner's debts, since the latter was held responsible for them despite his imprisonment: C.P.R., 1549-1551, pp.171-172, 262-263; the total of £1200 would include the arrears of £394.7.8 for tenths of the clergy of Hereford as well as the sums owing for London: see above, chap 3, p.77, P.R.O.: S.P.10/16, f.91v.

It is possible that Bonner was a little more prompt in paying his debts to the Crown in the reign of Mary than he had been in her brother's lifetime. An important concession from the Crown on 3 March 1554, the day after Bonner was formally restored to his bishopric, had released him "of all debts, arrears and sums of money... for tenths and subsidy of the said bishopric and diocese". Bonner had thus no arrears to discharge and no record has survived that he fell behind in his payments of diocesan tenths until they were abolished by act of parliament eighteen months later in October 1555.

But whatever the situation with regard to the tenths of the diocesan clergy in these years, record has survived that in 1555 Bonner paid promptly the tenth, fixed at £100, on his own episcopal income. Moreover the Bishop's Receiver-General recorded in his account-roll for 1555-1556 the repayment of a surplus of £31.13.0 paid into the court of First Fruits during 1553-1554.<sup>13</sup>

It was with difficulty that Bonner secured recognition in Elizabeth's courts of the release of 1554. In Easter term 1561 Bonner, through his attorney, presented a memorandum to the Court of First Fruits. The queen claimed £602.7.4 for the arrears of the tenths of the clergy in 1547 and 1548 and £53.10.0 for arrears of the subsidy of 1549. Bonner declared that these debts should

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13. C.P.R., 1553-1554, p.120; Statutes of the Realm, iv, 1819, pp.275-276; see below, p.309; P.R.O. S.C.6/Ph. & M./194, m.3, m.2.

be charged to the heirs and executors of the late vice-collector of the diocesan tenths, Alexander Chibborne, and that in any case his letters patent of 1554 released him from such debts. On 18 May 1561 the Court of First Fruits decreed that Chibborne's heirs should pay the debt. It is possible that the masters of the Court were influenced in making their decision by the fear that the Exchequer, which at this time was considering the validity of the letters patent of 1554, would decree that Bonner was legally acquitted of debts incurred before 1554 and thus that no-one was liable to pay the £655.17.4.<sup>14</sup> In his memorandum Bonner admitted that as well as the arrears of the tenths of the clergy and the subsidy, the Crown claimed that he owed a further £791.0.1. Unfortunately he gave no details of how this second debt had arisen.

From the records which survive it appears that it was chiefly as a collector of the tenths and subsidies of the diocesan clergy that Bonner failed in his obligations to the Crown. However, his financial dealings reveal him as an administrator who either personally or through his officials was not slow to claim exemption from his debts which, despite concessions by the Crown, he was never able

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14. P.R.O.: E.337/3, no.3. Bonner is known to have had four vice-collectors. As well as Chibborne, Robert Smith, Thomas Staunton and John Crook held the office, in 1542-1543, 1544 and 1545 respectively: L.P., XVII.73, L.P., XVIII(i).101; L.P., XIX(i).82; L.P., XX(i).2. Alexander Chibborne was also collector for the tenths and subsidy owed by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's: P.R.O.: S.P.10/16, r.95v.



completely to discharge.

In the eighteen years following Bonner's consecration to the see of London the property of the diocese changed radically. Not only did the distribution of the episcopal manors present a completely new picture but the bishop's net income was also affected. These changes were due as much to the actions of Edmund Bonner as to those of the Protestant Nicholas Ridley.

Before discussing in detail the exchange of diocesan property which Bonner effected with the Crown, the lands of the Bishopric in 1540 will be briefly described. Of the twenty-four manors in Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex, twenty-one had been in the possession of the Bishops of London since Anglo-Saxon times. The manors of Clacton, Clackingwick and Estwick were the private property of Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London in the reign of Henry I, until they were granted by him in perpetuity to his successors in the bishopric. At the end of the twelfth century the rectory of Broxbourne also became part of the possessions of the see.<sup>15</sup>

Two of the Essex manors, Orsett and Layndon, were in the southern part of the county not far from Tilbury and seven were grouped very roughly in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford, itself one

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15. New, ii, p.152; ibid., i, p.811.

of the bishop's manors. Clacton, Estwick and Clackingwick were near the coast. On the eight manors in Middlesex five were near the Thames, with Harringay and Finchley to the north of London. The bishop had one manor in Sussex, Lodsworth, situated between Midhurst and Petworth just north of the South Downs, and in Surrey the manor of Stoke near Guildford. The gross annual income of the episcopal manors varied greatly and this variation presumably reflected a variation in the size of the manors. In 1535 Finchley was believed to yield £4.5.7 and Southminster £193 a year.<sup>16</sup>

The first<sup>17</sup> indication that Bonner was prepared to exchange certain of his manors with the king is to be found in a Particular for a Grant dated 25 November 1544. The London lands described in the Particular in the Court of Augmentations were the Essex manors of Clacton, Clackingwick and Estwick and the manor of Lodsworth in Sussex. On 7 March 1545 Sir Anthony Browne presented a request to the Court of Augmentations to purchase the manor of Lodsworth. In the following month Sir Thomas Darcy, to whom the Essex manors were

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16. Valor, i, p.356.

17. The grant to Bonner by the Crown of "the olde rente of Powles" in July 1540 made no difference to the estates or income of the diocese because this rent was "appointed only for the repairs of the said Church". The rents from St.Paul's varied considerably between 1527 and 1567 but the grant in 1540 does not seem to have affected this variation. In 1527 the rent from St.Paul's was £10.13.0, in 1550 £8.13.9, in 1556 £20.9.0. and in 1568 £28.11.4; L.P., XV.942(21), G.L.Ms. 10123/3, f.28, P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.2d., P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.1d., G.L.Ms. 10123/4, f.25.

granted some eight years later, wrote to John Gates about the confusion at Clacton caused by the conflicting orders of royal and episcopal officers for holding a court there.<sup>18</sup>

It is possible that the initiator of the exchange was neither Browne nor Darcy but Bonner himself. Of the four manors which in the Particular of November 1544 the bishop "did requyre to have of the Kings maiesty" two were in Worcestershire not far from Bonner's probable birthplace. Some personal reason may have prompted Bonner to add to the London estates the manors of Bushley and Ridmerley which had been in the hands of Sir John Savage between 1485 and 1517. On the other hand, if the bishop had been subjected to strong pressure to exchange certain of his manors, there seems no reason why lands outside the Home Counties should have been added to the property of the Bishop of London unless Bonner expressed a particular desire for them. The manor of Fonehope in Herefordshire, together with the Worcestershire properties, had come to the Crown in 1485, but the manor of Swelle Inferior in Gloucestershire belonged to the monastery of Hailes until its dissolution. There is no evidence that Bonner felt any hesitation before accepting monastic property from the Crown.<sup>19</sup>

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18. P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.1-m.2; P.R.O.: E.318/184, m.4; C.P.R., 1553, pp.97-99; P.R.O.: S.P.1/212, f.177 (L.P., XX(ii).App.14).

19. P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.6; see above, Chap. 1, p.21; L.P., XX(ii).496(13).

Although negotiations for the exchange were probably well under way by November 1544 it was not until 25 July 1545 that the indenture of the exchange was sealed. On 5 September the indenture was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and the king issued his letters patent granting the Bishop of London the four manors from the Crown's estates.<sup>20</sup>

The exchange of 1545 was so arranged that neither the king nor Bonner gained any financial advantage from the transaction. The total value of the London manors exchanged with the Crown in 1545 was reckoned in the previous autumn to be £151.17.0. Clacton with Estwick and Clackingwick was estimated to yield £111.8.1.<sup>21</sup> A new lease had been made of Lodsworth in October 1527 for an annual rent of £28.13.4 at which figure it was reckoned in 1544. The remaining £11.0.2 of the £151.1.7 was the calculation of the approximate

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20. Two copies of this indenture are to be found in Church Commissioners, F.P.125 and P.R.O.: E.305/E.27. The confirmation by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's is in Ch.Comm. F.P.126; L.P., XX(ii).496(13).
21. The three Essex manors yielded £114.3.6 in 1526-1527 and in the Valor they were estimated at £114.3.9. Their average net annual return in 1546 and 1547 was £94.6.7 but fees were at least £9.13.4 p.a.: P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.1-m.2; G.L.Ms. 10123/3, ff. 7v.-10; Valor, i, p.356; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Hen.VIII/903, m.20-m.21d.; Appxiii. In a particular of April 1553 they were valued at £107.12.0 p.a., and in the following month at £111.12.4 p.a.: P.R.O.: E.318/1772, m.8; P.R.O.: E.318/1568, m.11.

annual value of the woods on these four manors.<sup>22</sup> The value of the four manors granted to the Bishop of London was reckoned in 1544 to be £154.14.5 and the Bishop paid in cash the difference of £3.12.0.<sup>23</sup> Of the four manors acquired by Bonner the value of two remained more or less stable during the next twenty years, one increased and one declined greatly in value. The rents from Bushley remained at approximately £25 a year between 1544 and 1556. The slight gradual decline in the value of this manor does not seem

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22. P.R.O.: E.318/184, m.4. For some reason Lodsworth was reckoned in the Valor as a farm of £26.13.4 and a bailiwick worth £5.3.4 p.a., but the figure of £28.13.4 tallies not only with the Particular of 1544 but with the Survey of the Diocese of London probably made in 1539: Valor, i, p.356; P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.2, m.5; P.R.O.: S.P.1/153, ff.170-173 (L.P., XIV(ii).242).
23. In the Particular of November 1544 it was noted that £3.12.0, the difference in the value of the properties to be exchanged, "Remaynyth to be res(er)ved in An yerely Rente And/ in lieue of the tenthe of the mano<sup>r</sup> of Swelle Inferior". Although in the deed of July 1545 this suggested rent was omitted, in 1550 an annual rent of £3.2.10 was paid by the Bishop's Receiver to the King's Collector for the Court of Augmentations in Gloucestershire. The cash payment of £16.10.5, which in the Particular Bonner was to pay for the advowson of the rectory of Ridmerley became in the indenture of July 1545 a cash payment of £16.10.6½ for the tenths of the manors which he conveyed to the Crown. But the tenth of the Bishopric does not seem to have been permanently affected. In 1550 the tenth was reduced to £100 from £111.18.10½, the figure at which it was calculated in 1535: P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.3; P.R.O.: E.305/E.27, m.1, see also L.P., XX(ii).496(13); P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.4d.; C.P.R., 1549-1551, p.263; Valor, i, p.357.

to have begun until after 1559.<sup>24</sup> It is possible that in 1544 the manor of Swelle Interior was overvalued by about thirty shillings a year when its net value was reckoned to be £39.15.10.<sup>25</sup> It was Ridmerley which increased by just over £7 a year in value between 1544 and 1559 while the manor of Fonehope declined from an annual rent of £27.11.9 to £20.10.6.<sup>26</sup> As well as the manors, Bonner was

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24. Bushley was valued at £25.10.7 in 1544 and at Michaelmas 1556 the Receiver-General received £25.6.9: P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.3; App.viii; see also P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.1d. In 1559 Bushley was valued at £24.6.1, at Michaelmas 1560 the bailiff paid £24.6.11 to the Receiver, in 1561 £21.17.1 and in 1568 £22: C.P.R., 1558-1560, pp.30, 441; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.13d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1462, m.2; G.L.Ms. 10123/4, f.26.
  
25. P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.3. In 1550 Swelle yielded £38.4.8 to the Receiver, in 1556 £37.18.11, and in 1559 its annual value was calculated to be £38.4.8: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.2d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.19d.; C.P.R., loc.cit., and see also C.P.R., 1560-1563, p.306.
  
26. P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.3: clear value in 1544, £35.15.10. In 1559 Ridmerley was valued at £42.19.10½: C.P.R., 1558-1560, pp. 30, 441. In a composite volume among the Miscellaneous Books in the Court of Augmentations is a certificate of the value of three of the manors of the Bishopric of London among which Ridmerley is included. Although this certificate has been tentatively dated 1545 it must have been made after 1550 because the manor of Knoll is described as part of the possessions of the Bishop of London. In the account of Ridmerley is an entry of £10 from "increase of rents" from free and customary tenants: P.R.O.: E.315/305, f.38. In 1555-1556 the manor of Ridmerley yielded a new sum to the Receiver-General of £50.10.0. Included in the gross rent of this year of £87.10.4 is an entry of £54.9.10 from forest rents. This entry occurs neither in the Particular of 1544 nor in the certificate and may have been an exceptional rent, as were some of the charges in this year, e.g. £37.9.4 for the purchase of cattle: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193 m.17d.-m.18d. Fonehope was said to yield £27.11.9 in 1544: P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.3; C.P.R., 1558-1560, p.441. In 1550 and 1556 Fonehope yielded £21.10.5 and £20.13.0: App.viii, p.472.

granted the woods standing on them which were calculated to be worth £25.17.0 a year. It cannot be said that in the exchange of 1545 Bonner gained manors which were to be less profitable than those ceded to the Crown. With the possible exception of Fonehope, it is unlikely that the newly-acquired manors were in a dilapidated condition.

Although the exchange of 1545 involved only possible administrative inconvenience for the Bishop of London's officials and not financial loss it was in the same year that Bonner diminished his annual income by over £50. On 3 September 1545 Bonner granted his manors of Crondon and Chelmsford to the king and this grant was confirmed by an Act of the Parliament of the following November.<sup>27</sup> The farm of Chelmsford was probably worth between £44 and £45 a year in 1545 and Crondon, another farm, was valued at £8.16.8 a year in September 1545.<sup>28</sup> It is unlikely that the Bishop of London had any alternative to making this gift. The archbishops of both Canterbury and York were compelled to show similar generosity to

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27. P.R.O.: E.305/B.21; Statutes of the Realm, iii, 1817, p.1008, 37.Hen.VIII, c.16 (L.P., XX(II).850(21)).

28. In the Survey of 1539 the two farms at Chelmsford were valued at £40 and £5, and in 1546 the Crown received £44.3.11 from the manor. The figures of £40.1.11 (1526-1527), £40.17.1 (1535) and £37.14.1 (1563) may refer to the rent from one farm, or they may indicate that the rent from the manor fluctuated: P.R.O.: S.P.1/153, f.171v. (L.P., XIV(ii).242); P.R.O.: S.C.6/Hen.VIII/903, m.19v.; G.L.Ms. 10123/3, ff.12v.-13; Valor, i, p.356; P.R.O.: E.318/1438, m.2. Crondon was valued in September 1545 in a Particular for an exchange between the king and Sir William Petre, to whom it was granted by letters patent on 20 October following: P.R.O.: E.318/858, m.1; L.P., XX(ii).707(9).

the king in the same year.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, it was during the first half of Bonner's episcopate that changes took place on the composition of the episcopal lands which had suffered neither addition nor diminution for more than three hundred and fifty years.

In April 1550 Nicholas Ridley was translated from Rochester to London and within a few days effected a major exchange of lands with the Crown. Ridley's exchange not only increased the number of manors held by the Bishopric of London but also increased its income.<sup>30</sup> A Particular dated 28 March 1550 noted that four manors belonging to the Bishopric were to pass to Sir Richard Rich, Lord Wentworth and Sir Thomas Darcy. Four days later, on 1 April, the letters patent for Ridley's translation from Rochester were issued. In less than a fortnight he had granted to the Crown the manors of Braintree and Southminster in Essex, and Hackney and Stepney in Middlesex. In return he was granted fourteen manors in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Essex and Warwickshire together with lands in

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29. The grants of land made by Cranmer to Henry VIII in 1545 were one of a series of gifts and exchanges made by the archbishop between 1536 and 1546 which may have diminished the revenues of the archbishopric by as much as £277 a year: F.R.H. Du Boulay, "Archbishop Cranmer and the Canterbury Temporalities", E.H.R., lxvii, 1952, pp.19-36, esp. pp.25-28 and p.34.
30. Prof. L.B. Smith was wrong to state that Ridley "accepted a vastly curtailed income". Prof. Smith referred only to diplomatic reports: L.B. Smith, Tudor Prelates and Politics 1536-1558, Princeton Studies in History, viii, p.253. For a similar pronouncement see J.D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558, The Oxford History of England, vii, 1952, p.518.



Uxbridge and London and three rectories. All these properties, except the manor and rectory of Rickmansworth, had belonged to the Bishopric of Westminster until its surrender to the Crown by Thirlby on 30 March 1550. Rickmansworth had formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Albans.<sup>31</sup> The annual value of the four manors granted to the Crown in 1550 was reckoned to be £480.13.9, and it is possible that this figure was a slight overestimation.<sup>32</sup> The lands granted to Ridley were calculated in the letters patent to be worth £526.19.9 $\frac{1}{4}$ , which was probably an underestimation of their annual value.<sup>33</sup> It is clear that the increase in the number of manors of

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31. P.R.O.: E.318/1685, m.1; C.P.R., 1549-1551, pp.171-172; P.R.O.: E.305/G.25; C.P.R., op.cit., pp.262-263; P.R.O.E.305/G.22.
32. P.R.O. E.318/1685, m.1; In 1526-1527 the gross yield of the four manors granted to the Crown by Ridley was reckoned by the Receiver-General to be £459.7.3. In the Valor they were valued at £437.15.1: G.L.Ms. 10123/3, f.5v (Brintree: £40), f.12. (Southminster: £188), f.17v. (Stepney: £148.10.0), f.18v. (Stepney Marsh: £21.7.3), f.19v. (Hackney: £61.10.0); Valor, i, p.356 (Braintree: £40, Southminster: £193.3.4, Stepney: £117.19.8, Stepney Marsh: £21.7.3, Hackney: £65.3.10).
33. C.P.R., 1549-1551, p.263. About 1542 the lands granted to Ridley in 1550 may have been worth approximately £590. For this figure see the Valor of the possessions of the Bishopric of Westminster which gives the value of all the manors granted to Ridley in 1550 except Paddington and Rickmansworth. The total (minus these 2 properties) was £429.10.6. In 1555-1556 Paddington and Rickmansworth yielded £162.16.7: P.R.O.: S.C.11/845, m.3; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.7d., m.8d., m.15d. At Michaelmas 1556 the lands granted to Ridley in 1550 were worth £555.1.8. This figure is deduced from the Receiver-General's calculations of the gross income of each manor excluding arrears: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.14d (Greenford with Amewell: £25.4.0), m.9 (Ashwell: £52.2.10), m.8 (Rickmansworth farm: £94.6.11), m.8d. (Rickmansworth, rectory: £27), m.15 (Drayton: £9.6.8), m.5 (Fanton: £28), m.3d., m.4 (Fering: £69.13.1), m.4d., m.5 (Kelvedon: £30.6.9), m.20 (Knoll: £61.13.10), m.15d. (Paddington: £41.6.8), m.10 (Stevenage, Holwell, Dachworth and Tadworth: £47.14.11), m.15 (Uxbridge: £4), m.16d. (London: £64.7.0).

the diocese did not mean a proportionate increase in the episcopal income. Nevertheless by his exchange Ridley had increased the gross income of the Bishopric by at least £46 a year and possibly by as much as £80 a year. Ridley also secured from the Crown the reduction of his tenth to £100, thereby increasing the Bishop's net annual income by £11.18.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>34</sup> Whatever may have been the result of the Council's policy in other dioceses, in the Bishopric of London it resulted in a rise in income.

From the diocesan accounts that survive it is possible to estimate more precisely how the changes in the composition of the episcopal lands affected the bishop's net income. There are three Receiver-General's account books for the period up to 1540, but the last of these is for the year 1526-1527, thirteen years before Bonner became Bishop of London. Although the episcopal receipts in 1527 can be only a very rough guide to the net income of the bishop in 1540 it should be noted that at Michaelmas 1527 the Receiver-General recorded that £1003.15.5 had been paid into his office. It is unfortunate that no further account book or roll survives until that drawn up at Michaelmas 1550, after Ridley's exchange with the Crown. It is thus impossible to know exactly how Bonner's exchange and gift in 1545 affected the net income of the diocese. The Receiver-General calculated that for the year

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34. See above, p.294 ; C.P.R., 1549-1551, p.263.

1549-1550 the bishop's manors yielded £1113.19.9, although from the figures which he used the total should have been £1095.13.4. Six years later, at Michaelmas 1556, the net income from the bishop's manors had risen to £1184.10.10.<sup>35</sup> Apart from miscellaneous and uncertain revenue it is probable that the net episcopal income rose by about £150 between 1527 and 1560.

It is unlikely that the increase between 1527 and 1560 can be explained solely by an increase in the income from individual manors. Of the fourteen manors, the rectory and the property in London, which were in the hands of the Bishop of London both in 1527 and in 1550, four farms yielded the same rent, the profits from five manors increased, but the net annual value of the remaining seven properties diminished. Between 1527 and 1550 the total net income of these sixteen properties declined by £13.4.11 a year. Although the income from these sixteen properties rose by over £20 between 1550 and 1556 the total rise between 1527 and 1556 was only £5.10.0. The rise in the bishopric's total net income between 1527 and 1550 may be partly explained by Ridley's exchange of property with the Crown. Although Bonner's exchange and gift of land in 1545 diminished the income of the Bishopric, Ridley's transaction in 1550 compensated for this loss.

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35. G.L.Ms. 10123/3, f.32; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.2d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph&M./194, m.1, m.2; The total of £1184.10.10 in 1556 does not include a further £225 which was paid to Bonner's officials for licenses to alienate, fines, sales of woods and the repayment of certain surplus paid for the subsidy of 1553-1554: loc.cit., m.1.-m.2d.

Since no alterations were made in the composition of the diocesan property between 1550 and 1556 the increase of over £60 in the net income from all properties in the Bishopric during these years most probably came from a rise in the income from individual manors. This increase may have been partly the result of improvements in the management of the diocesan property. The nature of the sources is such that it is not possible to tell whether this rise began during Ridley's episcopate or after Bonner's restoration.<sup>36</sup>

On his return to his see in 1553 Bonner was not satisfied with the exchange of property which Ridley had effected. On 3 March 1554 Queen Mary had regranted to Bonner the property for which Ridley had exchanged the four manors of Braintree, Southminster, Hackney and Stepney. More than four years later however, in a letter written in July 1558, possibly to Pole, Bonner declared "I do spende a greet deale moor than is my lyveload wherein/ thoughe I doo playe the foole, yet suche is the place that I am in/ that I ca(n) not otherwise doo, beseching therfur yo(ur) grace moost hu(m)blie/ ye wilbe the healer & meane for me to the moost grate and good qu(een)/ that wh(ere)as the lord darcy ,,& other,, by unlawfull menes did usurpe w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h)/ great drain Sudmyster & other thinges belongi(n)g to my churche I may/ w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) her grace(s)

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36. See App.viii, pp472-475

favour enter apo(n) theym lawfully again, seying I nev(er) did/  
any acte wh(e)r(e)by in lawe I have forgone theym".<sup>37</sup> Bonner's  
hope that the four manors would be restored to him cannot have  
been long-lived. With the accession of Elizabeth four months  
after this letter was written, and Bonner's replacement by Grindal  
in 1559, the lands of the diocese were to undergo further vicissi-  
tudes and the net income of the see to suffer a drastic diminution.<sup>38</sup>

Thus by the end of Bonner's episcopate the distribution of  
the lands of the diocese of London had changed completely. Of the  
original twelve manors in Essex only five remained, although three  
had been added from the lands of the diocese of Westminster. Two  
of the original Middlesex manors had been replaced by four formerly  
belonging to Westminster, and in Hertfordshire six new manors and  
three rectories had brought the number of manors to eight and of  
rectories to four.<sup>39</sup>

The leases which Bonner made show that he was no more immune  
than his contemporaries from the desire to endow his friends and  
relatives with lands. When Bonner was translated to London he  
found many of the manors belonging to his new diocese encumbered by

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37. C.P.R., 1553-1554, pp.119-121; Inner Temple, Petyt Ms. 358/47,  
f.3 (pencil pagination).

38. See C.P.R., 1558-1560, pp.30, 441; and ibid., 1560-1563, pp.306-  
307. At Michaelmas 1560 the total net income of the diocese  
was £847.18.5, and a year later after the bishop had been granted  
5 rectories by the Crown it had only risen by about £40: P.R.O.:  
S.C.6/Eliz./1485, passim: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1462, m.1, m.2.

39. See App.vii, pp.468-471.

leases made by his predecessors. Nevertheless evidence survives of 39 leases which Bonner made between December 1539 and May 1558. As well as the rectory of Broxbourne, and property around St. Paul's, Bonner leased lands in ten of the 24 manors to which he succeeded in 1540, in three of the four manors granted by the Crown in 1545, and in four of the sixteen properties exchanged in 1550.<sup>40</sup> Bonner's leases varied from the conveyance of a whole property such as the farm of the manor of Orsett or the reversion of the manors of Fering and Kelvedon to the renting of a few acres of demesne land in Hadham, Copford or Fulham.

Apart from two leases he made to his Receiver-General, Thomas Staunton, Bonner's indentures may be divided into two categories. The first consists of a group of eighteen leases which the Bishop made with sixteen men with whom he is not known to have had close personal contact. These men were usually either demesne tenants whose tenure was probably changed from copyhold<sup>41</sup> to leasehold, as in the case of the six men in Hadham to whom Bonner granted leases

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40. Of the manors to which he succeeded in 1540 Bonner does not seem to have made leases in Braintree, Clacton, Estwick, Clackingwick, Southminster, Chelmsford, Crondon, Layndon, Malden, Ealing, Finchley, Sondebury, Stoke or Lodsworth. For Bonner's leases see App.ix, pp476-482.

41. Bonner did not invariably change copyhold to leasehold tenure. The farm of a messuage with appurtenances in Swelle Inferior was demised by Bonner by copy of court roll to Roger Lawdon and Margaret his wife on 18 June 1547: P.R.O.: E.310/14/53, f.21.

in 1540, or Londoners like Robert Spayne or Bernard Kingston<sup>42</sup> who wanted to rent small properties in London or on one of the episcopal manors in the country. Of the leases in this category only one concerned a large property: the manor of Knoll was leased to a certain John Montayne.

The second and more important group of indentures consists of nineteen leases Bonner made to ten friends and relatives: his nephews Thomas Parsons alias Fayrbrother and William Mountjoy, his sister and brother-in-law Margaret and Philip Mountjoy, his friends John Broughton and Edward Mowle,<sup>43</sup> and his old servants Thomas Serle and Richard lechmere, Richard's son Edmund and his brother Roger.<sup>44</sup> To these ten people, either separately or jointly, were leased the manors of Copford, Stortford and Orsett, the manor house at Stepney, the reversions of the manors of Wormeholt, Fonehope, Fering and Kelvedon and the farm of the rectory of Broxbourne.

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42. Bernard Kingston was a citizen and cordwainer in 1543: C. Welch, ed. Register of Freemen of the City of London in the Reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1908, p.66.

43. With Edward Mowle, John Broughton took fealty for Hereford for Bonner in March 1539. He may have been related to Walter Broughton who was farmer of the rectory of Broxbourne in 1526: L.P., XIV(1), 651(9); G.L.Ms. 10123/3, f.5v; see below App. ix (25), p.479 and for Mowle below p.341 .

44. For Bonner's relationship to Thomas Parsons see above chap. 1, p.37 . William Mountjoy was a brother of Thomas Parsons and godfather to his son Edmund: P.C.C., 41 Brundenell; see App. x (viii) and above chap. 1, p.38 .

William Mountjoy also received a lease of certain tenements in Pater Noster Row and the lease of the park of Ridmerley. To Richard Lechmere was leased the park of Bushley<sup>45</sup> and to Edward Mowle a small wood in Copford.

Certain legal cases survive which supplement the picture to be drawn from an analysis of Bonner's leases. In three of the four manors<sup>46</sup> which Bonner acquired in 1545 the bishop made leases or took action to benefit his friends. On 23 June 1548 Bonner leased the manor of Fonehope in Herefordshire to Richard and Roger Lechmere and Thomas Serle to be held from Michaelmas 1559. In February 1535 Henry VIII had granted to Thomas ap Guillam, page of

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45. William Honnyng, Bonner's friend and servant, who with Richard Lechmere and Edward Mowle took fealty for Bonner in November 1539, did not receive the lease of the farm of Gunnersbury in the manor of Ealing from the bishop. He was already there when the Survey of the diocesan lands was drawn up, probably in 1539, and his lease had ten years to run. He was farmer at Gunnersbury in 1549-1550, but by 1555-1556 he had been replaced by Sir John Mason. At Michaelmas 1556 he still owed the Receiver-General £2.6.8, for part of the farm of the manor of Ealing which had been unpaid since Michaelmas 1552: See above chap. 7, p.197 ; L.P., XIV(ii).619(44); P.R.O.: S.P.1/153, f.172 (L.P., XIV(ii).242); P.R.O. S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.2; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.2d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.4.
46. The fourth manor was Swelle Inferior in Gloucestershire. Four years before Henry VIII granted the manor to Bonner, Walter Barston and his wife Alice had sought confirmation in the Court of Augmentations of the indenture they had made with the Abbot and Convent of Hailes in 1537 whereby property in Swelle was leased to them for 50 years. There is no record that Bonner attempted to question their leases of the three farms in Swelle. Walter Barston was bailiff and farmer at Swelle in 1556: L.P., XX(ii).496(13); P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.19d.-m.20; P.R.O.: E.315/93, f.204.



the Chamber, and his son John, sewer of the Chamber, the offices of bailiff and seneschal at Fonehope to hold for life. In 1542 the manor was leased to Thomas for 21 years.<sup>47</sup> Not only did Bonner, in his grant of a reversion, ignore the length of the Crown lease, but during the second half of his episcopate he took action against Guillam in Chancery in order to dispossess him. The diminution in the income from this manor may have prompted Bonner to commence a suit against the Welshman, but a desire to make possible an earlier entry of the Lechmeres into Fonehope may have strengthened his determination to be satisfied at law for Guillam's alleged defalcations.

Sometime between 1553 and 1555 Bonner complained in a Chancery bill that he had sent his officials to hold a court at Fonehope and to receive "the rente dewe and accustomed and to mak sale of wooddes by ordre...". The bishop's officials had found that  
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47. App.ix (29), p.480 . L.P., VIII.291(62), see also L.P., XVI(1).1072; In 1545 John ap Guillam was described as seneschal of the court at Fonehope which office was said to have been granted to him for life by letters patent of the Crown: P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.11, P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.19-m.19d.; see below, App.vii, p.469 ; John ap Guillam may not have lived peacefully with his neighbours: in 1539 the Commissioners of the Welsh Marches were sorting out a dispute over fishing rights in which the Guillams were involved: L.P., XIV(1).1072, and it should be noted that Guillam's mill at Fonehope was destroyed by order of Henry VIII as a common nuisance: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.19d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2; C.P.R., 1558-1560, p.306; At Michaelmas 1556 the Receiver-General's account roll showed that Guillam's debts dated from 1552, 1553 and 1555: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.4d.

"one John Gwylliam a troublouse gentleman...a wilfull headie man havinge abowte him/ many open malefautors" had for some time taken all the profits of Fonehope, paying no rent and allowing the bishop's officers to hold neither court nor audit. Between 1556 and 1558 Bonner declared in Chancery that Guillam, who had neither a lawful interest in the manor nor any right to the office of bailiff, had himself held a court at Fonehope without the knowledge or consent of the bishop and in the absence of his officials. In both the Chancery bills which survive Bonner said that Guillam had destroyed the woods on his Herefordshire manor.

In Guillam's reply to the second surviving bill submitted to Chancery by Bonner, the tenant said that this was the third time that Bonner had complained against him. Holding royal letters patent for the office of seneschal, Guillam may well have been successful in denying the right of the bishop's officials to enter and hold a court. In 1555-1556 Guillam was still acting as bailiff at Fonehope and paid the annual rent for the manor and the profits from the sale of woods to the bishop's Receiver-General. In the latter's account roll it was reckoned that Guillam's debts for that year amounted to no more than £1.5.8. In his reply in Chancery between 1556 and 1558 Guillam declared that the former cases were still undetermined and it is possible that this case was also under consideration in Chancery when the manor of Fonehope passed from

the possessions of the Bishopric in 1559.<sup>48</sup>

In the manors of Ridmerley and Bushley Bonner set aside leases which had been made not by Henry VIII but by Nicholas Ridley. When Ridmerley was acquired by the Bishop of London in 1545 Richard Bartlatt, M.D., held the royal patent for the office of bailiff there which he was still holding in 1550.<sup>49</sup> Sometime between 1550 and 1552 Richard Bartlatt probably gave up his office, and Nicholas Ridley granted Ridmerley Park and the office of bailiff at Ridmerley to his secretary, George Carr. Carr conveyed the park and office to George Shippeside and his wife Alice, Ridley's natural sister.<sup>50</sup> On 6 September 1553, the day after his restoration to the see was confirmed, Bonner wrote to Serle and the Lechmere brothers asking them to "order all things at Kidmerley (sic K) and Bushley at your pleasure not suffering Sheeps-head nor Shipesside to be any meddler there, or to sell or carry any thing from thence; and I trust at your coming up now at the Parliament, I shall so handle both the said Sheeps-heads and the other calves-heads that they shall perceive that their sweet shall not be without sour

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48. P.R.O.: C.1/1332/21, C.I.1409/19-20.

49. L.P., IX.729(2); P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.2d.

50. In 1556 Bartlatt was described as late farmer, and is recorded as having resigned his interest in the manor: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.18. For the description of Carr as clerk or secretary to Ridley see W.H.Frere, The Marian Reaction In its Relation to The English Clergy, The Church Historical Society, xviii, 1896, pp.208-209; P.R.O.: C.78/27, no.17, m.18 (cited, V.C.H., Worcester, iii, p.484); G.Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, ed. N.Pocock, v, 1865, p.373.

sauce...". In 1763 Dr. Gloucester Ridley, in his life of Nicholas Ridley, wrote that Bonner, during the reign of Queen Mary, attempted to put a bill through Parliament that all Ridley's leases might be declared invalid, but it was not allowed to pass.<sup>51</sup> Whether he made such an attempt or not, at some date between 1553 and 1555 Bonner complained in Chancery that since his restitution to the Bishopric one "George Sheephede alias Shepeside" had retained Ridmerley Park by force. According to the bishop's bill Shipside had killed all the deer in the park and cut down the timber. By refusing to allow Bonner's deputies to occupy the park, Shipside gave "mervelouse evyll example in this troublous tyme of sedition rebellion and unlawfull attemptats". Bonner asked the Court to exclude Shipside from Ridmerley Park.

It is probable that Bonner's plea was successful at this time and that Ridley's lessees were ejected. At Michaelmas 1556 Thomas Serle was bailiff at Ridmerley and accounted to the Receiver-General for the profits of the park and the woods. Serle compounded with the bishop for his fees for the offices of bailiff and collector of the rents and of custodian of Ridmerley Park. In 1558 Bonner leased Ridmerley Park to William Mountjoy and it was probably at

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51. The letter from Bonner to the Lechmeres of 6 September 1553 cannot be found among the Lechmere papers, there is only a copy of the letter made from Burnet: Lechmere: G. Ridley, The Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, 1763, p.429.

the same time that he leased the mill at Ridmerley to Serle.

A year later Richard Lechmere and Thomas Serle were Mountjoy's tenants in the Park.<sup>52</sup>

During Elizabeth's reign Bonner's disregard of Ridley's leases raised questions of the validity not only of his own leases but also of his deprivation in 1549. In 1559<sup>53</sup> George and Alice Shippeside were seeking justice against Thomas Serle in the Court of Requests. Recalling how they had been possessed of Ridmerley Park during Ridley's episcopate the Shippesides declared that about 1553 "Thomas , , Sherle, , & Richafde Latchmer w(i)<sup>th</sup> others, by the com(m)-aundement, procurement and assent of the reverende ffather in god Edmu(n)de boner now busshopp/ of London" had expelled them from the park. After declaring that Serle and his step-son William Stone had kept them from possession of the park and the office of bailiff during the years since Michaelmas 1553, the Shippesides begged to be restored. Serle and Lechmere replied that Ridley's leases were invalid since he had been unjustly intruded into the diocese of London, and that since Bonner had never been lawfully deprived

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52. P.R.O.: C.I/1397/1; Serle's fees totalling £6.1.4 were not paid in 1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.18-m.18d.; App. ix, (37), p.482; P.R.O.: Req. 2/36/52, m.3.

53. On the dorse of the Shippesides' complaint in the date "11 May 1 Eliz.", and this was probably the date that the bill was entered in the Court of Requests, for the case took place after Queen Mary's death but before Bonner's deprivation.

his leases to Mountjoy and Serle were valid.

In a Chancery judgement of 1563 it was recorded that the Masters of the Court of Requests had considered the problem of these conflicting leases several times, deciding that Mountjoy and Serle should retain possession of half the disputed premises until the case was determined at common law. It was then that Bonner's friends brought an action of trespass against the Shipsides in King's Bench. At Michaelmas 1561 the Shipsides, for their part, complained against William Mountjoy, Thomas Serle and William Stone in Chancery. It was not until 7 May 1563 that the Court of Chancery decreed that Bonner's deprivation in 1549 had been lawful and Ridley's translation from Richester to London valid. Since he had been in legal possession of the Bishopric of London, Ridley's lease to Carr and the subsequent conveyance were also legal. By decree of the Court the tenure of the Shipsides at Ridmerley was confirmed.<sup>54</sup>

Bonner's lease of Bushley Park similarly disregarded a grant made by Ridley and, late in Elizabeth's reign, once again raised

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54. P.R.O.: Req.2/36/52, m.4. In an indenture of 10 March 1548 John Wymmesley leased the farm of the church of Ridmerley to Thomas Serle, Eleanor his wife, and her son William Stone: Reg.Bon., f.218. Seale was bailiff of Ridmerley in 1555-1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.17d., m.18d.; P.R.O.: Req.2/36/52, m.3, m.1; P.R.O.: C.78/27, no. 17, m.18.-m.22.

the problem of the validity of his deprivation in 1549. In 1545 the demesne at Bushley was leased by indenture to a number of tenants whose rents were collected by a bailiff, while Thomas Averey, one of Cromwell's servants, held the keepership of the park by royal patent.<sup>55</sup> At some date between 1545 and 1549 Bonner probably made Richard Lechmere bailiff of Bushley which office he was holding in 1550 and 1556.<sup>56</sup> It was Ridley however who, on the death or resignation of Averey, leased Bushley Park to Carr. By his grant of the park to Lechmere sometime between 1553 and 1559 Bonner once again ignored Ridley's action. Some thirty years later, in 1591, the problem of these conflicting leases was considered by the Privy Council. The government was anxious to determine the matter since on a decision in this case might depend other leases on lands which had since become Crown property. As in 1563, so in 1591, Ridley's lease to Carr was held to be valid.<sup>57</sup>

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55. App. ix (39), p.<sup>482</sup> ; P.R.O.: E.318/721, m.3; L.P., XIII(1) 646(20). That Averey was one of Cromwell's servants is shown in L.P., V.804, L.P., IX.234, 478.
56. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.2d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.18d.-m.19. In 1559-1560 and 1560-1561 George Carr was bailiff of Bushley: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.13-m.13d., P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1462, m.2. In 1567-1568 one George Dagger was bailiff: G.L.Ms. 10123/4, ff.25-26.
57. P.R.O.: S.P. 12/238, f.127, see also A.P.C., 1590-1591, pp.292-293, ibid., 1591, pp.152-53, 60-61; V.C.H., Worcester., iv, pp. 46-47, see also J.Rusling, The Registers of Bushley, In the Deanery of Upton, 1538-1812, Worcestershire Parish Register Society, 1913, pp.viii, 42, for the continued connections of the Carrs and Shipsides with Bushley.

Bonner showed both in the number of leases he made with them and in the cases he brought in Chancery that he wanted to assist his family and friends. But the bishop's irritation and his dispossession of the Carrs and the Shipsides are not the only instances of a certain harshness which he sometimes displayed in his relations with his tenants. It is possible that even if the bishop had had no desire to lease lands in Hereford and Worcestershire to Serle and the Lechmeres he would have lost patience with men whom he believed to be dilatory in paying their rent, or who had been "intruded" by Ridley. The picture of Bonner's relations with his tenants is not one of uniform severity. There are three instances where it may be argued that he was moved solely by a reasonable appreciation of his tenants' or officers' capabilities.

Bonner was willing to extend the term of tenants whose rent seems never to have been in arrears and who fulfilled their offices efficiently, even if they were not close personal friends. On 1 October 1555 he leased certain land in Greenford to Thomas Thorneton for £5 a year. Richard and Thomas Thorneton had been the Abbot of Westminster's officials at Greenford. The last Abbot of Westminster had leased the farm of the manor to the two Thornetons and this lease was renewed by the Bishop of Westminster in 1541. Bonner's lease to Thomas Thorneton in 1555 was of



demesne land not granted in the earlier leases.<sup>58</sup>

The bishop was willing that a tenant who owed large sums to the Receiver-General might alienate his lease. The manor of Knoll had been part of the property belonging to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster until 1540.<sup>59</sup> Although in 1542 the manor was estimated to yield a net annual income of £62.7.4, by 1550 the rent had fallen by at least £3 a year<sup>60</sup> Richard Busbye, bailiff and farmer at Knoll, had difficulty in accounting even for this diminished sum and at Michaelmas 1556 owed the Receiver-General £39.19.0. In the same year he paid £10 for licence to alienate the farm of Knoll and Sir John Coope paid a fine of £20 to renew the indenture. It was probably at some date between Michaelmas 1556 and his deprivation in 1559 that Bonner leased the manor to

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58. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.2; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.14-m.14d.; Westminster Abbey Muniments 31060, 31105; P.R.O.: C.I/1078/24; reference to a lease of the manor made to Thomas Thorneton in 1529: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.14-m.14d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.10-m.10d.; G.L.Ms. 10123/4, ff. 20v.-21v.

59. See the acquittances from the Receiver of the Abbot of Westminster to the farmer and to the collector of rents at Knoll, in eg. 1538 and 1539: Westminster Abbey Muniments 31078, 31120, 31170, 31204, 31169, 31215.

60. P.R.O.: S.C.11/845, m.3. In the account in the composite volume among the Miscellaneous Books in Augmentations (see above, p.305, note-26) the net value of the manor was reckoned at £59.8.6 and at Michaelmas 1550 the bailiff paid £56.14.8 to the Bishop of London's Receiver: P.R.O.: E.315/305; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.2d., m.4; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.3, m.2, see also P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.20-m.20d.

John Montayne.<sup>61</sup>

Bonner's action in Chancery against John Barley, farmer of the parsonage of Ashwell may also have been dictated by prudence and not anger. The bishop said that although he did not think that Barley's occupancy of the farm was legal he had "sparyd/ & forborn to enterrupt or p(ro)hibett the said John(n) Barley to occupie & enioi the sayd p(re)misses". Barley however had not paid the bishop his whole rent, the 220 quarters of malt which he paid in kind. He still owed 60 quarters which he had refused to deliver when the bishop's servants came to collect it. Although the Receiver-General noted in his account roll at Michaelmas 1556 that Barley had paid his full rent for the year it was probably about this time that he resigned his farm. In 1556 John Barley paid the Receiver £43 as the price of 41 quarters of malt. This payment is not noted as having been made in lieu of arrears of grain but there seems no other explanation for a tenant whose rent was paid in malt buying malt from the bishop's granary. Barley may have been forced to make this 'purchase' of malt by the decree in Chancery.<sup>62</sup>

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61. In 1556 it was noted that Richard Busbye as well as owing rent for the year 1555-1556 also owed £19 unpaid since Michaelmas 1553: P.R.O.: S.E.6/Ph.&M./194, m.4d.; P.R.O.: C.2/Eliz./C.12/18; See App.ix (33), p.481.
62. P.R.O.: C.I/1332/20. Ashwell was one of the properties which came to the Bishopric of London in April 1550: see App.vii(3) p.470. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.1d., P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.9d. Barley was described as "late" farmer in 1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2. Robert Allen was farmer of the rectory in 1559: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458/m.6.

At Greenford, Knoll and Ashwell Bonner's actions in his relations with his tenants may well have been dictated by an analysis of their economic position and their execution of their financial obligations. There is, however, record of three quarrels between Bonner and his tenants which reveal the bishop in a slightly less pleasing light. Between 1556 and 1558 a certain Richard Tyson brought a suit against the Bishop of London. Tyson claimed that his father, John Tyson, and Richard Ewer had held by copyhold a messuage and one hundred acres at Muswell Hill in the parish of Harringay. In 1544 the property had been granted to Alice Tyson, wife of John and mother of Richard. In June 1556 Alice died. Although Richard had been "an humble petic(i)oner" to Bonner to be admitted a tenant to the premisses, the Bishop had not only refused but had taken the "rents revenues or profitts... to his owne use...agenst all right, equitie & good conscience". It is unfortunate that the answer to Richard Tyson's bill has not survived and that we have no knowledge of the outcome of this charge against Bonner.

Bonner did not only refuse to renew copyhold tenures. On one occasion he is said to have denied the validity of certain copyholds in Hadham. At some date between 1540 and 1544 John Heynes and John Selle of Hadham complained in Chancery that although they had paid Stokesley's surveyor certain fines for lands in Hadham

"then g(ra)nted by/ copy...for certyn termes of yeres", Bonner's officers had warned them to depart. It is possible that this case reached Chancery as a result of the negligence of Stokesley's surveyor, but Bonner's officials do not seem to have acted either slowly or leniently.<sup>63</sup>

Probably the most interesting quarrel between Bonner and one of his tenants arose from the imposition of a fine in the manorial court at Fulham. This case illuminates Bonner's personal relations with his tenants and illustrates in an unusually clear way the workings of the court of an episcopal manor. Between 1556 and 1558 Stephen Claybrook, a copyholder at Fulham, brought a case against Bonner in Chancery.<sup>64</sup>

In his bill of complaint Claybrook declared that he held certain customary lands to which, on payment of a fine, he had been admitted three years before. By licence, so he said, of the lord of the manor, Claybrook united two houses standing on this land, moving a footpath which had originally run between the two buildings. Claybrook claimed that Bonner had unjustly sent his officers to enter and seize these premises, and that a fine of

63. P.R.O.: C.I/1475/98, this bill is somewhat mutilated, particularly at the bottom. P.R.O.: C.I/1010/29; See App.ix,(7), p.477.

64. P.R.O.: C.I/1418/29-30. I am grateful to Mr. Roger Virgoe for drawing my attention to this case.

£100 was imposed on him "in the Co<sup>r</sup>te ,,lete,, of/ the said mano<sup>r</sup>, that yo(u)<sup>r</sup> said orato<sup>r</sup> shulde pull downe his houses in fo<sup>r</sup>me aforsaide united". Before the day appointed for the houses to be pulled down the bishop "in his owne p(er)son" looked at the alteration of the footpath and considered the licence for the alteration of the houses. Bonner was reported to have said that the houses might stand and that the fine would be remitted. Trusting the bishop's words the tenant did not pull down his house, but he later found that as well as the original fine the bishop wanted to exact further penalties of £45. In order to obtain these sums the bishop, through his officers, distrained Claybrook's goods and "from tyme to tyme doth moche trouble and hinder yo(u)<sup>r</sup> said Orato<sup>r</sup> in that behalfe, Intending/ by myght and power, to exacte of yo(u)<sup>r</sup> said Orato<sup>r</sup> the said severall paynes of Seaven skore and five pounds, contrary to his owne promyse and g(ar)unte".

In his reply Bonner declared that in June 1554 William Holden<sup>65</sup> the farmer of the demesne at Fulham, had surrendered about three acres of land for the use of Stephen Claybrook. This surrender was presented at the next general court held in the manor,  
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65. William Holden was farmer of part of the demesne of the manor and collected rents from other farms in Fulham: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.11-m.12.

but Claybrook had not come to take the three acres from the bishop's hands nor had he paid any fine. At the view of Frankpledge held on 18 May 1556<sup>66</sup> the manorial court declared that Claybrook entered the property without being admitted to it according to the custom of the manor "And by vertue of the seyde p(re)sentment & custome the p(re)mysses" were taken into the bishop's hands. Bonner declared that he had neither known of nor consented to the alterations to the footpath. It was at the request of the manorial court that he went to view the changes. In his answer the bishop declared not only that Claybrook did not appear to have any licence to make an alteration in the premises but that the alteration was "suche dangerewes/annoyance & dysturbance" to all the tenants of the manor that there would have been "Tumulte & uprores...yf paynes had not byn sett upon the seyde compl(ainant)". At the same time Bonner denied "that any suche payne of/ c li" was "sett upon thedd of the seid compl(ainant) or anie such sundrye paynes amounting ,in thole,, to cxlv li".

In the absence of the Court's decree it is impossible to know whether the bishop or his tenant emerged triumphant from

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66. Two courts were usually held at Fulham: (i) the court leet or view of frankpledge, held once a year usually in April or May, (ii) the court baron held with the court leet and also again after Michaelmas, being composed of the freeholders of the manor presided over by the lord of the manor or by "his steward": C.J.Feret, Fulham, Old and New, i, 1908, p.13.

Chancery. But it is interesting to note that Bonner in his answer was prevaricating in at least one particular. Despite his denial that the fines on Claybrook totalled £145 there is to be found in the account roll of the Receiver-General for 1555-1556 the entry that Stephen Claybrook owed £160, for fines assessed on him in the manorial court for a free tenure.<sup>67</sup>

It is possible that the severity of the fines on Claybrook and on another Fulham copyholder, William Yawe, was the result of Bonner's personal intervention in the proceedings of the court. During 1559-1560 a fine for a free tenure was again assessed on Claybrook, but instead of £80 it was only £15. Grindal reduced this still further, claiming only £3.6.8 from his tenant,<sup>68</sup> the Receiver's account roll for 1555-1556 shows that Bonner occasionally intervened personally to the advantage rather than to the disadvantage of his tenants. In that year the Bishop pardoned two fines assessed by his court at Copford. These fines assessed on his friend and archdeacon Edward Mowle and on one John Choppyn totalled £1.7.0. The bishop also agreed that an amercement owing at Ashwell might remain uncollected.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless Bonner's

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67. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.11.

68. At Michaelmas 1556 William Yawe owed £120 for a fine for a free tenure: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.11; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458/m.7d.

69. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.1d., m.9, see below, p.341 .

quarrel with Claybrook not only showed that he took a personal interest in the administration of at least one of his manors, but also that in his relations with his tenants his actions might sometimes be characterized by dishonesty and harshness.

In the management of his lands and household Bonner trusted his friends and relatives with important offices, but it is difficult to know whether his nepotism was more extreme than that of his contemporaries. The management of the episcopal estates was a complicated task; and Bonner may have hoped to maintain more personal control by giving bailiwicks and offices in the central administration to his old servants, Richard Lechmere and Thomas Serle and to his nephews, William Mountjoy and Thomas Parsons. Whatever the advantages for the bishop, his patronage was a source of profit to his friends.

The administration of individual manors of the diocese varied, and the changes in the composition of the episcopal lands increased this complexity. Some of the manors were leased as an annual farm,<sup>70</sup> some were managed by bailiffs who collected rents from the tenants and sometimes, as in Copford, Hadham and Layndon, from men holding small farms within the manor.<sup>71</sup> In certain manors both a

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70. In 1540 Brintree, Chelmsford, Clackingwick, Estwick, Southminster Sondebury, Wormeholt, Lodsworth and Stoke were farms. There was one fee-farm, Malden in Essex. The rectory of Broxbourne was leased as a farm: G.L.Ms.10123, passim, see App.vii, pp.468-471.

71. In 1540 six manors were managed by bailiffs: Clacton, Crondon, Finchley, Hackney, Stepney and Harringay: ibid., see the survey of the diocese c.1539: P.R.O.: S.P.1/153, ff.170-173 (L.P., XIV(ii).242), see App.vii, pp.468-471.



bailiff and a farmer rendered accounts to the Receiver-General. The number of manors which were managed by a bailiff rose from nine in 1540, twelve in 1545 to fourteen in 1550. It is probable that in the manors where the whole property was in farm the bishop would have had little direct control in the internal workings of the manor, but in the bailiwicks the responsibility of the bishop's local officials and of his central officials would have been greater.<sup>72</sup>

Lechmere, Serle, Mountjoy and Parsons were all bailiffs of episcopal manors at some time during Bonner's episcopate. These four men could not however personally control all the bishop's manors. The other bailiffs were often men who either had long association with the particular manor for which they accounted or whose families had long been connected with the diocese. Thus the Thornetons were at Greenford before the manor became part of the possessions of the see.<sup>73</sup> The Nedelers had long association

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72. In 1540 a bailiff and a farmer rendered separate accounts to the Receiver-General in the manors of Ealing, Fulham, Orsett, Wikeham and Storteford: See App.vii(i), p.468 and App.xi, pp.489-490

73. see above, p.323 .

with the manors of Ealing and Wormeholt.<sup>74</sup> In 1549-1550

Christopher Page was bailiff of Finchley while Richard Page was bailiff at Harringay.<sup>75</sup> John Staunton, who in 1549-1550 was bailiff of Copford, collector of rents at Stortford and bailiff of the liberties in Essex and Hertfordshire was probably some relation of Thomas Staunton, Bonner's Receiver-General.<sup>76</sup>

Bonner was not usually responsible for repairs when an episcopal manor was farmed out. In 1555-1556 the farmers of Stevenage, Drayton, Paddington, Fonehope and Fulham were responsible for repairs. The farmer of the manor of Fering however was responsible for only one-quarter of the repairs, the bishop paid for three-quarters. When Bonner leased the farm of the manor of Stortford to Philip, Margaret and William Mountjoy and Thomas Parsons his tenants were relieved of a heavy burden when the bishop accepted responsibility for the repairs. In 1555-1556 repairs to the three mills at Stortford cost Bonner £10.12.6.

When a manor was administered by a bailiff the bishop usually paid for the repairs. It is probable that the bailiffs decided what repairs should be made, but the manorial courts or the

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74. In 1555-1556 William Nedeler was described as "late" bailiff of Ealing and Simon Nedeler accounted for Wormeholt. In 1559-1560 Henry Nedeler accounted for Ealing and in 1584 another William was occupant of Wormeholt, the lease of which was held by William Mountjoy: see App.ix (27), p.480, P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.4, m.1d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.8d.

75. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.2.

76. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.1, m.1d., m.3.

bishop's central officials may have had a share in these decisions. In 1556 such repairs included the replacement of the palings of the churchyard at Copford and repairs to the buildings at Ashwell. The total cost of repairs to the bishop in this year was £50.13.10. By far the largest single item was £19.14.11 spent on repairs to St. Paul's and to the bishop's palace by St. Paul's. In 1555-1556 Bonner's nephew, Thomas Parsons, was Keeper and Doorkeeper of the palace by St. Paul's and collector of the rents of St. Paul's and as such was responsible for the upkeep of the Cathedral.<sup>77</sup>

The honesty of the bishop's bailiffs was probably an important factor in determining the bishop's total annual income, although efficient central officials would provide a check on the local officers. The duties of the bishop's bailiffs varied with the custom of individual manors. On the manor of Stevenage the bailiff, as well as collecting rents and perhaps determining whether repairs should be made, was probably responsible for collecting reliefs. At Ealing, Swelle and Knoll and probably in most of the other bailiwicks the bailiff made an account of the money assessed and the money collected at the manorial court. The bailiffs were supposed to render their accounts of the fines imposed and received at the courts to the Receiver-General. In 1555-1556 the Receiver

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77. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.10d., m.15, m.15d., m.19, m.11, m.3d., m.7, m.7d., m.1d., m.9, m.17d.; see App. x, (vii), p.487; Repairs to St. Paul's were even heavier in 1559-1560 when £58.16.10 was spent: P.R.O. S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.12d.

noted that two or three bailiffs omitted to do so. Bonner's net income was considerably reduced by the fees which he paid his local officials. Altogether they received £48.4.10 at Michaelmas 1556, individual payments varying from 6/8 paid to the bailiff of Storteford to £3.16.8 paid to the collector at Ashwell.<sup>78</sup>

Apart from those local officials whose concern was primarily with the management of the estates, Bonner employed two attorneys, one in the King's Bench and one at the Exchequer. In 1556 Leonard Sandell was the attorney in King's Bench. Jacob Lord, the attorney at the Exchequer, as well as receiving his annual fee of 13/4 was paid 9/4 for having accounted for a fine owing to the king and queen in respect of the manor of Fonehope.<sup>79</sup> There is no record of Ridley or Grindal having had an attorney, and it is possible that his employment of episcopal lawyers in the royal courts indicates that Bonner was unusually litigious even for the sixteenth century.

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78. In 1556 it was noted in the Receiver-General's account roll that one Helena Brabett, a tenant on the manor of Stevenage, owed £3 for a relief, and since she would not pay, the relief was to be collected by the Seneschal. This note suggests that the usual custom was for a relief to be collected by the bailiff: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.10, m.12, m.20; see App.xi, pp.489-490.

79. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2, m.2d., m.3.

Bonner employed three chief central officials. In 1555-1556 William Roper was Bonner's seneschal and for a fee of £10 a year supervised the administration of the manorial courts. Roper may have been Bonner's own nominee in the office. It is possible that Bonner appointed the Deputy Seneschal, although Roper, like the Auditor, may have been given permission to choose whomsoever he pleased. The Deputy does not seem to have received an official fee. Either Roper was personally responsible for it, or else Hugh Stewkley was satisfied with his perquisites. At all events, as deputy seneschal Stewkley's post was no sinecure. In the three cases where it is known who held a court, Roper once presided over a court at Fulham, and Stewkley twice conducted the court, once a court general held at Fulham and once the court held at Orsett in the presence of the Auditor, the Receiver and all the bishop's officers.<sup>80</sup> The Deputy was responsible for providing paper and parchment for court rolls at a cost, in 1556, of 13/4. It is possible that there existed a personal friendship between Bonner and his Seneschal; at all events the bishop did intervene in the Seneschal's activity on some occasions.<sup>81</sup>

Bonner paid part of the Seneschal's expenses. In 1549-1550

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80. Roper was not Seneschal in 1535, but held the office in 1549-1550: Valor, i, p.357, P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.3; Feret, op.cit., i, p.34, citing the court rolls of the manor of Fulham; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.10. Stewkley was one of the episcopal officials who survived the changes of 1559, visiting the manor of Ealing as seneschal during the year 1559-1560: P.R.O. S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.8d.

81. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2d.

the Seneschal received £4.3.7, and in 1555-1556 £9.10.2, from the Receiver-General. The increase between 1550 and 1556 may have been due solely to a rise in the cost of riding about the country from manor to manor. The troubles at Fonehope where Bonner "dyverse tymes to his grete coste sente downe/...his officirs and depute to kepe courte there" may have caused part of this increase.<sup>82</sup> It is possible however that the rise of the Seneschal's expenses may have resulted from an increase in the activity of the bishop's central officials. At only one manor where a court was usually held did the bishop's officials fail to make a visit in 1555-1556. The Seneschal also received payments for his expenses from the farmers of Copford, Wikeham, Fering, Rickmansworth, Stevenage and Greenford and during 1555-1556 the bailiffs of Layndon, Hadham, Haringay and Bushley were allowed a total of £7.2.4 when they accounted to the Receiver-General for payments they had made to the bishop's central officials.<sup>83</sup>

Fines from the manorial courts were a large item in the bishop's income. In 1555-1556 the Receiver-General reckoned that, apart from arrears, his office should have received £283.16.1 from the profits of the bishop's courts. This sum included the exceptional fines amounting to £169.5.7 which had been assessed at Fulham,

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82. ibid., P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m. 3d., see above, pp.315-318; P.R.O.: C.1/1332/21.

83. No court was held at Bushley during 1555-1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.18d.; ibid., m. 1d., m.2, m.3d., m.7d., m.8d., m.10d., m.14, m.14d.

but even without the fines imposed on Stephen Claybrook and William Yawe the bishop might expect between £100 and £120 from his courts every year.<sup>84</sup> The efficiency of the Seneschal was a matter of no small importance to the bishop.

Besides the Seneschal the bishop's two main officers were the Receiver-General and the Auditor. In the year 1555-1556 the Receiver-General was Thomas Staunton, a man who as Bonner's sub-collector had held administrative office in the diocese in 1544.<sup>85</sup> He was probably appointed Receiver by Bonner before 1549.<sup>86</sup> The Deputy Receiver was the bishop's nephew, Thomas Parsons. Staunton continued in his office under Grindal, but the Deputy's was only a temporary appointment for by 1559 Parsons had been replaced by one William Marshall. In 1555-1556 Staunton and Parsons seemed to have divided their work fairly equally. Between them they received most of the rents from the farmers and tenants although some tenants made their payments directly to the bishop or to one

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84. ibid., m.3, m.6, m.13d., m.18.-m.19; ibid., passim, see above, pp.3 227-331.

85. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2; L.P., XIX(i).82.

86. Thomas Whitehead was Receiver-General in 1535 and was mentioned as Stokesley's Surveyor in the case brought in Chancery by John Heynes and John Selle: Valor, i, p.357, P.R.O.: C.1/1010/29, see above pp.326-327.

of his personal servants, such as Tristram Swaddl<sup>87</sup> Staunton paid the tenths and subsidies owed by the bishop to the royal vice-collector and their fees to the other central officials. The rest of the money which was paid into his office was delivered either by him or by Parsons to the bishop. By having his nephew as Deputy-Receiver Bonner may well have had very close personal control over the day-to-day transactions of the Receiver-General's office.<sup>88</sup>

Bonner's Auditor, Thomas Mildmay, had been a diocesan official for many years. The Auditor was responsible for writing<sup>89</sup> and checking the Receiver-General's account rolls. Bonner's acquittances for the money he received either from his tenants or from his officials were probably collected and may have formed the basis of the work done at the Audit. Apart from the pound of pepper given to him by the tenant of the manor of Bushley the Auditor received

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87. S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, passim, Styrpe said that Ridley "continued Bonner's receiver, one Staunton, in his place": J.Styrpe, Memorials of...Thomas Cranmer, i, 1840, p.298; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, passim: In 1555-1556 Staunton's fee was not paid: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2d.; ibid., m.3-m.3d.

88. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2d.-m.3d. Although he did not receive his fee of £13.6.8 Staunton was paid 6/8 for attending at the time of the Audit during 1555-1556.

89. That the Auditor and not the Receiver was responsible for the writing of the latter's accounts may perhaps be deduced from the fact that while the Auditor's fee included £2.16.8 set aside for the purchase of paper and parchment the Receiver-General's office received only 6/8 a year for paper, enough for the purchase of paper for writing the draft accounts: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.3d., P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2d.



his fee of £16.3.4 from the Receiver-General. The Auditor's clerk, who actually wrote the Accounts was paid from the profits of individual manors and probably by the bailiffs of those manors.<sup>90</sup>

It is possible that the Seneschal, the Receiver-General and the Auditor had their offices in London. Although the Seneschal and the other two central officials seem to have travelled about the bishop's manors, it is likely that they had a central office. In 1556 some tenements in Pater Noster Row worth £4.10.0 a year were being occupied "to the Bishop's use" and it is possible that his officials were established there.<sup>91</sup> It would probably have been more convenient for Bonner if his officials were close at hand while he was in London.

As well as his three central officials and his local bailiffs, concerned primarily with the administration and finances of the

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90. Thomas Mildmay was Auditor in 1535, 1549-1550, and 1555-1556: Valor, i, p.357. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.3, P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2. In 1555-1556 the Auditor's clerk received a total of £2.2.6 from the bailiffs of Layndon, Fering, Kelvedon, Rickmansworth, Stevenage, Fulham, Greenford, Bushley, Swelle, Knoll and Ashwell and from the collector of St. Paul's for writing the accounts: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.18, ibid., m.3, m.4, m.5, m.8, m.10, m.10d., m.11, m.12, m.14d., m.18d., m.20, m.20d., m.9, m.17.
91. The Auditor and the Receiver-General attended a court at Orsett and the bishop's servants went to John Barley to collect the farm of the parsonage of Ashwell. John ap Guillam was said not to have allowed an audit to take place at Fonehope which suggests that sometimes the Auditor travelled to individual manors to check accounts, rather than always expecting the accounts to be brought to him. See above, pp. 37, 28, 21; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.17d. For the year 1549-1550 the draft of the Receiver's account survives: P.R.O.: S.C.5/Edw.VI/307. It is possible that the account books of 1526-1527 and 1567-1568 were drafts, the completed copies (rolls) of which have perished.

episcopal manors, Bonner employed a few other officials to run his own household. In 1550 Edward Mowle was described as late seneschal of the household of Edmund Bonner late Bishop of London, and as such received £54 from the Receiver-General to pay the wages of Bonner's servants.<sup>92</sup> Mowle, archdeacon of London for a few months in 1543 and then archdeacon of Essex until his death in 1558, probably met Bonner in 1533 when he was steward to Dr. Benet, Bonner's colleague on his embassy to Rome. During Bonner's absence in France in 1539 his "old, gentle and assured hearty friend" took fealty for him for the bishopric of Hereford and for the bishopric of London.<sup>93</sup> On Bonner's promotion to London, Mowle, probably a man of some erudition, succeeded him to the prebends of Chiswick in St. Paul's and Kilkenny in St. David's.<sup>94</sup>

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92. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306, m.3d. Strype wrote that Ridley "paid fifty-three or fifty-four pounds for Bonner's own servants common liveries and wages which was Bonner's own debt remaining unpaid after his deposition", but it was not out of the kindness of his heart that Ridley's Receiver-General paid Mowle, but in obedience to a warrant from the Privy Council: Strype, Cranmer, loc.cit., A.P.C., 1547-1550, p.422.

93. L.P., VII.306, L.P., X.313, L.P., XIV(1).651(9), L.P., XIV (11).619(44).

94. In his will Mowle bequeathed the works of St. Augustine, Chrysostom, and Origen and other homilies and commentaries to his friends among the canons of St. Paul's: London County Council Record Office: D.L./C/357, f.145; L.P., XVI.220(24). Mowle was also prebend of Holywell from 1554-1558: Hen., pp. XVII, 7, 22, 31, New., 1, p.72.

By 1555-1556 Mowle had probably given up the post of seneschal, for Roger Cosynne was then described as seneschal of the Bishop's household. It is possible that Cosynne, if not to be identified with, was some relation of Robert Cosen, alias Cousynne, alias Cowsynn who was prebendary of Holborn from 1545 to 1554 and prebendary of Mora from 1554 until he was deprived in 1559. He also held the treasurership of St. Paul's for a few months from October 1558.<sup>95</sup>

Another of Bonner's household servants was Tristram Swaddle, prebendary of Rugmere and rector of Stepney. He is not known to have had a university education but in a list of recusants compiled about 1561 he was described as "altogether unlearned but yet very subtle". Bonner probably gave him his prebend and he leased him a third part of the reversion of the manor of Fonehope which Swaddle shared with Richard Lechmere and Thomas Serle. During 1555-1556 Swaddle paid a fine of £20 for land in Orsett. Swaddle was probably also a friend, or at least acquainted with Bonner's nephews Thomas Parsons and William Mountjoy.<sup>96</sup>

Although an ecclesiastic rather than a relative seems to have been seneschal of the bishop's household, even here he found it possible to give employment to his family. In 1556 Bonner had at

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95. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.3; ibid., m.2d; Hen., pp.12, 30, 38, Robert Cosen was also presented to the rectory of Great Greenford by Thomas Thorneton on 30 December 1558 and he had been vicar of St. Laurence from 1545-1549: ibid., pp.175, 266.

96. See below, chap.11, pp.359,405 ; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1601-1603, Addenda, 1547-1565, ed. M.A.E.Green, 1870, p.523; see below, App.ix (35), p.481; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M/193, m.2d.

least three residences which merited a custodian. One of the bishop's nephews, Parsons, was custodian of the palaces at Hadham and by St. Paul's and Mountjoy was keeper of the palace at Fulham.<sup>97</sup>

The household officials were responsible for receiving rents in kind. The bishop's household lived largely on grain and meat provided by the tenants or the demesne farmers on the episcopal manors. The farmers or tenants who paid their rent in grain delivered the corn or barley to the clerk of the household who was in charge of the granary. The clerk probably had other officials under him and each year they received and stored large quantities of grain.<sup>98</sup> In the year ending at Michaelmas 1556 the farmer of the rectory of Ashwell delivered 220 quarters of malt to the granary, the farmer of the manor of Stevanage 24 quarters of malt. Rent from the farm of Fulham included 20 quarters of corn and from the farm at Greenford 30 quarters of malt and one small boar. Some of the tenants at Fulham paid rents of £8.9.2 not in cash but in wheat. Wood was brought from Wormeholt to Fulham and straw was also delivered to the bishop's palace.<sup>99</sup>

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97. See below, App. x, pp486,487. In 1549-1550 there is no record of fees being paid to the keepers of the palaces at St. Paul's or at Hadham and Thomas Parsons and not William Mountjoy was custodian of the palace at Fulham: ibid., see also below, App. xi, p.498 .

98. There is a reference to the officers of the bishop's granary at P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2d.

99. ibid., m.1-m.1d., m.3d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.11d.

The duties of the bishop's household officials were not always strictly defined. On one occasion Bonner himself wrote to Serle and Lechmere to send "beeves and mutton for my housefare", and the central officials paid some household expenses. In 1555-1556 the Receiver-General noted that his office had paid 11/8 for the carriage of 5 quarters of grain from Fering to London. Edward Belston, clerk of the household, was partly responsible for buying grain if the supplies from rents and from the demesne lands proved insufficient. During the year 1555-1556 Belston paid £16.10.0 for 12 quarters of corn and Thomas Staunton spent £6.13.4.<sup>100</sup>

The officers of the household were partly responsible for seeing that the demesne lands of the episcopal manors were kept well stocked. They were concerned with cattle and not with the condition of the fields. It was the bailiff who in 1556 spent £4. 6. 8. for lime to spread on the lord's fields at Hadham, and the bailiff of Bushley saw to it that the bishop's fields in his manor were well manured. It was, however, a household official, Tristram Seadde, who spent £17 on buying sheep which were later delivered to the bailiff of Bushley. Thomas Staunton and not a local official bought ten oxen for the bishop during 1555-1556.

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100. Burnet, op.cit., v, p.373; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, n.2d.

Once again, however, there was no rigid demarcation of the duties of the central and local officials for during the same year the bailiff of Ridmerley spent £77.9.4 on oxen and sheep which were then delivered to the bishop's officers.<sup>101</sup>

There is very little evidence to show which of his palaces Bonner used most frequently. There is no story which reveals Bonner living at Hadham, but whether he resided at the palace or not, when he reached the village during his visitation of Hertfordshire Bonner was poorly received. It is possible that Bonner allowed the palace at Hadham to fall into decay for in 1559-1560 repairs costing £17.13.6 had to be carried out there. More traditions survive about the palace at Fulham than about the others. A great deal of the building had been done at Fulham Palace "the summer residence of the Bishops of London" by Bishop Fitzjames between 1506 and 1522. Fitzjames had begun the building of the Great Hall which was used, so it is said, by Bonner when he examined heretics. A little room, with a low ceiling and one small window, on the north side of the great quadrangle of the palace was still known as "Bonner's Bedroom" in 1900. Fifty years later tradition at the Palace asserted that the bishop had his oratory in a little

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101. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.11d.; ibid., m.6d., m.19, m.18.

porch-room overlooking the courtyard.<sup>102</sup>

There is certain other evidence which might lead to the conclusion that Bonner spent a large proportion of his time at Fulham. Although pasture and meadow lands in Hadham worth 5/3 a year were reserved to the bishop's use and Bonner as well as a keeper of the palace had a special cattleman, Thomas Turner, at Hadham, yet it was at Fulham that tenements worth £1.6.8 a year and the mill were reserved to the bishop's use. Fulham was closer to London than Hadham, and had the advantage over the palace by St. Paul's of being in the country.

Bonner does not seem to have had a palace at Stortford, but the main gaol of the bishopric was there. Only in 1550 was the gaol at Westminster attached to the diocese of London. The bailiff of the liberties of Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex was responsible for transporting convicts from the royal prison at Newgate to Stortford. Whether these prisoners were guilty of secular or ecclesiastical offences, they were an expense to the bishop. As well as the cost of transporting them from London, the bailiff of Stortford spent £4.3.8 in 1556 partly on repairs to the gaol and partly on the bishop's alms to the prisoners. These alms were the only recorded charity of the bishop. It is possible that Bonner's

102. V.C.H., Hertford, iv, p.62; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.4d.; Feret, op.cit., iii, pp. 99-102; A letter to me from the Bishop of London's Secretary, 25 February, 1958.

alms would not have been accounted by the Receiver-General, but would have been included with the bishop's other personal expenses in his private household accounts.<sup>103</sup>

Thus the bishop's household was large and complex. It was necessarily so, for not only did Bonner sometimes educate boys in his household but he frequently had to entertain guests of the government in his London residence. In August 1554, for instance, the queen sent Bonner a buck from the park at Nonesuch because the bishop was host to some Spanish noblemen. When Parliament was sitting Bonner probably did a great deal of entertaining. In his case against John Barley he complained that the failure of his tenant to deliver the malt was particularly inconvenient at Parliament time.<sup>104</sup>

A study of the administration of the diocese of London not only sheds light on the internal organization of a large sixteenth-century estate but also reveals certain aspects of Bonner's character. An analysis of his relations with his tenants shows that he was sometimes severe and even perhaps unjust. In his leases and in his distribution of offices he was anxious to provide his family and friends with jobs and lands. Bonner diminished the estates of the diocese, yet complained of the financially

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103. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.6., m.11d., m.12. See below App. xi, p.488 ; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.21, ibid., m.7.

104. Guildford Muniment Room: Losely Ms.846/8; see above, chap.1, p. 30 ; P.R.O.: C.1/1332/20.



advantageous exchange which Ridley had effected. Despite his large income he could not avoid being in debt to the Crown. Perhaps the proliferation of officials which the accounts for the year 1555-1556 make evident, reveals a certain extravagance in Bonner's nature.

## Chapter 11.

### The patronage exercised by the Bishop of London

While Bonner was Bishop of London he instituted one hundred and fifty clergymen to benefices which were in his patronage in the diocese of London. An analysis of the careers of these men not only illustrates the complexities of the religious scene in the middle of the sixteenth century, but also throws some light on Bonner's activity as a diocesan bishop.

A complete study of Bonner's diocesan administration has not here been attempted. The nature of the sources would make it impossible adequately to analyze the exercise of the diocesan machinery in the first half of the episcopate only. A study of Bonner's personal control over the machinery would be a natural part of a reappraisal of the persecutions in London in the reign of Mary. Such a study would therefore be essential to a complete biography of the bishop, but it falls outside the scope of this thesis.

An analysis of the careers of the one hundred and fifty clergymen who benefitted from Bonner's patronage cannot be wholly

accurate. Much work<sup>1</sup> has been devoted to the clergy of the diocese of London during the Reformation. But until studies of the clergy of other dioceses have been completed it will be difficult to discover, for instance, how many benefices one of Bonner's nominees held outside London. Again, although the lists of institutions for the diocese are very full during Bonner's episcopate, it is frequently impossible to learn exactly when a cleric died or resigned his benefice. The institution of his successor was sometimes delayed for several years, and when it occurred no reference was made to the former occupant of the living.

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1. This chapter rests largely on the following studies of the clergy of the diocese of London: R.Newcourt, Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londoninense, 1708, 1710 (cited as New.) G.Hennessey, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londoninense, 1898 (cited as Hen.), H.E.P.Grieve, "The Deprived Married Clergy in Essex, 1553-1561", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th s., xxii, 1940, pp.141-169, and E.L.C. Mullins, "The Effects of the Marian and Elizabethan Settlements on the clergy of London, 1553-1564", an unpublished M.A. thesis in the University of London, 1948. Bonner's Episcopal Register, and Grindal's Register, have provided much useful information, and in some cases corrections of Newcourt and Hennessey.

There are at least twelve<sup>2</sup> men who are known to have received benefices from Bonner, but whose later history is in doubt.

Nevertheless from the careers of the remaining one hundred and

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2. (i) John Holmstede was instituted as chaplain of the chantry of St. John Baptist in the Bishop's manor of Braintree on 16 September 1545. There was no other institution to the chantry before its suppression in 1549, and Holmstede made no other appearance in the diocese of London: Reg.Bon., f.153, see also New., ii, p.87. (ii) John Herne was instituted as sub-dean and first minor canon on 16 November 1543, probably on Bonner's appointment. No other sub-dean is recorded in this period, and Herne's name does not re-appear in the diocese: Hen., p.61. (iii) Robert Ottewrye alias Ottway was appointed vicar of Rickling on 16 December 1540. He resigned before 29 August 1542 and no further trace of him has been found: Reg.Bon., ff.133, 141v. (New., ii, p.494). (iv) John Smyth, bachelor of law, was instituted as vicar of Dedehamden 26 December 1539. It is not possible to identify him definitely with any other John Smyth, although he may have been the John Smyth LL.D., who was appointed Rector of Shepperton by Henry VIII in January 1540/1541. The date of his departure from Dedehamden is unknown, but the next institution occurred in 1555: Reg.Bon., f.130, New., ii, p.210. (v) William Townson was instituted Rector of St.Rumbold's, Colchester on 19 December, 1544. No further trace of him has been found: Reg.Bon., f.129v., New., ii, p.180. (vi) Robert Underwood was instituted vicar of Wakering-Magna on 18 July 1548, but disappeared without trace before June 1550: Reg.Bon., f.162v., New., ii, p.620. (vii) John Yeareth was appointed vicar of Hillingdon on 17 February 1539-1540, and disappeared without trace before the next institution in 1545: Reg.Bon., r.130v., New., i, p.650. (viii) John Bocking, Rector of St. Alphage from 8 June 1554 vacated his benefice sometime before July 1561, but the date and reason are unknown: Reg.Bon., f.453, Hen., p.86, Mullins, op.cit., pp.294, 318. (ix) William Canon was instituted vicar of Gosfield on 31 July 1555. He may have vacated his benefice about 1560, but no further information about him has survived: Reg.Bon., f.463v., New., ii, pp.285-286. (x) John Cryse was instituted as Rector of Stanway-Magna on 27 May 1555, but vacated the benefice when a former incumbent was restored at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The exact date, and the circumstances of his departure are unknown: Reg. Bon., f.463, New., ii, p.554. (xi) Richard Flint, vicar of Aveley, was instituted on 28 April 1557, and vacated his benefice before 1565: Reg.Bon., f.470v., New., ii, p.23. (xii) William Tye was instituted to the vicarage of Wakering-Magna on 14 June 1556, but the exact date of and the reason for his departure are unknown: Reg.Bon., f.467, New., ii, p.620.

thirty-eight clergy, a picture can be drawn which reveals some interesting aspects of Bonner's policy in his appointments.

Between 1539 and 1559 Bonner was responsible for appointing the incumbents of one hundred and eighteen benefices in the diocese of London.<sup>3</sup> One hundred and fifty clergymen shared between them

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3. In about 1620 to 1625 ten livings outside the diocese of London were in the gift of the Bishop of London. These were the rectories of Uppingham and Okeham in Rutland, Lamtom in Oxfordshire, Hadberough and Dean in Northamptonshire, Offerd Clune in Huntingdonshire, Heddeley in Surrey, Toddenham in Gloucestershire and Sutton-under-Brailles in Warwickshire and the vicarages of Steventon in Berkshire, Langdon in Worcestershire and St. John de Eastmaekham in Nottinghamshire: Bodleian: Rawlinson Ms. D. 993, f.40v. I owe this information and reference to Dr. Gareth Owen. One of these advowsons, Uppingham, was granted to the Bishops of London on the dissolution of the abbey of Westminster: V.C.H., Rutland, ii, pp.101-102. It is probable that some of these benefices had been in the patronage of the Bishop of London eighty or ninety years before this list was compiled. It has occasionally been possible to learn if and when Bonner appointed the incumbents of these benefices. Bonner appointed John Wymmisley to the rectory of Uppingham in 1554: J.Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1574, (n.d., c.1890), p.1658. In 1554 Bonner appointed Henry Pendilton to the Rectory of Toddenham, Gloucestershire: D.N.B. article on Pendilton by A.F.Pollard. In 1558 Robert Steepes became Rector of Sutton-under-Brailles in Warwickshire as a result of Bonner's patronage: Mullins, op.cit., p.420. Another benefice, which was not on the seventeenth-century list was the Rectory of Ridmerley in Worcestershire. In 1548 John Wymmisley was Rector of Ridmerley, which was in the bishop's patronage at that time: Reg.Bon., f.218. Institutions to the benefices in the Bishop of London's patronage, but outside his diocese were not recorded in the London diocesan register, and it has not been possible to make a full survey of the incumbents of these benefices between 1539 and 1559. Consideration of Bonner's patronage outside the diocese of London has therefore been excluded from this chapter except in the case of those individuals, such as those mentioned in this note, who also received preferment from Bonner within his own diocese.

two hundred and five preferments. Bonner usually presented the incumbents to chantries, vicarages, rectories, canonries and archdeaconries by virtue of his rights as diocesan. In six cases he nominated the incumbent of a benefice while the patronage remained in the hands of Lord Rich.<sup>4</sup> These six men have been included in this study since their appointment also reveals what sort of men Bonner chose to serve in the diocese of London.

In twenty-six cases the Bishop exercised patronage when the rights of another patron had lapsed or when he held the advowson for one term only. Between 1539 and 1549 Bonner made sixty-six appointments. In five<sup>5</sup> cases he exercised his patronage through the lapse of the rights of a former patron. Between 1553 and 1559 the proportion of appointments by lapse to appointments in his patronage as diocesan increased from 7½% to 15%. There were

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4. Bonner nominated five rectors to Birch Magna: Richard Baldwyer in 1544, Robert Mason in 1546, John Lepyngton in 1555, John Kingston in 1557 and Adam Richardson in 1558. He nominated Roger Clatonne to the vicarage of Maching in 1554. Birch Magna and Maching were in Rich's patronage. Reg. Bon., ff.150, 156, 46lv., 472, 477, 448v.
5. Rectory of St. Rumbold's, Colchester, 1544: Reg.Bon., f.149v., New., ii, p.180; Vicarage of Dedeham, 1539: Reg.Bon., f.130, New., ii, p.210; Vicarage of Hatfield-Regis, 1548, Reg.Bon., f.163, New., ii, p.316; Rectory of St. Andrews Holborn, London, 1541: New., i, p.273; Vicarage of St. Mary-le-Strand, London, 1540, Reg.Bon., f.130, Hen., p.314.

twenty-one<sup>6</sup> appointments where the patronage fell to Bonner by lapse out of a total of one hundred and thirty-nine. This increase may be explained by the unusual circumstances of Mary's reign. It is possible that the bishop sometimes claimed the right of patronage when a former incumbent had been deprived.<sup>7</sup>

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6. Rectory of Ashdon, 1555: Reg.Bon., f.462v., New., ii, p.21; Rectory of Chesterford-Magna, 1554, New., ii, p.133; Rectory of Chipping-Ongar, 1557: New., ii, p.451; Rectory of All Saints, Colchester, 1557, New., ii, p.164; Vicarage of Dedeham, 1555, Reg.Bon., f.464, New., ii, p.210; Vicarage of Gosfield, 1555; Reg.Bon., f.463v., New., ii, pp.285-286; Rectory of Henney-Parva, 1557: Reg.Bon., f.469v., New., ii, p.328; Vicarage of Herndon-super-Montem, 1554: Reg.Bon., f.458v., New., ii, p.343; Rectory of St. Martin Outwich, London, 1555: New., i, p.420; Rectory of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, London, 1555, Reg.Bon., f.459v. Hennessey is wrong in ascribing this act of patronage to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's: Hen., p.319; Rectory of Langenho, 1555: Reg.Bon., f.463v., New., ii, p.364; Rectory of St. Michael, Milend by Colchester, 1555: Reg.Bon., f.462, New., ii, p.420; Rectory of Packlesham, 1554: Reg.Bon., f.458, New., ii, p.459; Vicarage of Redgewell, 1555: Reg.Bon., f.462v., New., ii, p.490; Vicarage of South Benfleet, 1555: Reg.Bon., f.460, New., ii, p.48; Vicarage of Saling Magna, 1557; Reg.Bon., f.472v., New., ii, p.514; Rectory of Stanway-Magna, 1555; Reg.Bon., f.463, New., ii, p.554, Rectory of Sutton, 1555: Reg. Bon., f.466, New., ii, p.567; Rectory of Tay-Parva, 1557: Reg.Bon., f.470, New., ii, p.574; Rectory of Woodford, 1555; Reg.Bon., f.462, New., ii, p.680; Vicarage of Walthamstow, 1557: Reg.Bon., f.473v., New., ii, p.637.
7. In at least thirteen of the twenty-one benefices where Bonner presented by lapse between 1553 and 1559 the former incumbent had been deprived: Ashden, Dedeham, Chesterford-Magna, Hernden, St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, London, St. Martin Outwich, London, St. Michael Milened by Colchester, Packlesham, Redgewell, South Benfleet, Stanway, Sutton, Woodford: Reg.Ben., ff.462v., 464, 459v., 458v., 459v., 460v., 462, 458, 462v., 460., 452v., 463, 462.

It is also possible that in the second half of his episcopate Bonner became more concerned to maintain and extend his patronage. It is noted in the list of institutions that Bonner's appointment of the Rector of Ashdon in 1555 was by lapse. In his next appointment to the vicarage, in 1558, the advowson was assigned to the bishop without qualification.<sup>8</sup> In one case at least the bishop went too far. Bonner claimed the right to appoint the Rector of Tollyshunt Militis. On 30 October, his nominee Hugh Evans was installed there. Shortly afterwards, Evans' institution was cancelled. The queen claimed that the church in question was in her patronage and Evans had to return to the bishop his letter of institution and mandate of induction.<sup>9</sup>

There is further evidence which suggests that Bonner gradually became more particular about the exercise of his patronage. In December 1539 he complained to Cromwell that Dr. Ryvet had obtained advowsons to the archdeaconry of Middlesex and the prebend of Newington. It was, however, to the person of Dr. Ryvett he objected and not at this time to the granting of advowsons. As he mentioned to Cromwell he had already granted to the Lord Privy Seal and his

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8. Reg. Bon., ff.462v., 478. The vicarage of Dedeham was also in Bonner's hands on two occasions. At the institutions of both John Smyth in 1539 and Henry Slythurst in 1555 mention was made that the bishop appointed by lapse: Reg.Bon., ff.130, 464.

9. Reg.Bon., f.457v.



friends certain benefices in his patronage.<sup>10</sup> Four and a half years later Bonner did not acquiesce without protest to the king's demand for the prebend of Kentish Town. It is indeed possible that Henry VIII eventually allowed the bishop to nominate this canon.<sup>11</sup> After 1553 Bonner's reluctance to grant advowsons became much more marked. Between 1539 and 1549 Bonner gave eleven advowsons of benefices in his diocese to friends and acquaintances. But between 1553 and 1559 record has survived of only three advowsons given away by him.

Of the fourteen advowsons, ten were distributed amongst Bonner's friends. His old servants, Serle and the Lechmere brothers,<sup>12</sup> his

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10. P.R.O.: S.P.1/156, r.7 (L.P., XIV(ii).763: The Calendar omits certain sentences in this letter).
11. Bonner's letter to Henry VIII of 19 June 1544: St.P., i, p.762 (L.P., XIX(i).736). After the death of Richard Layton, LL.D., the prebend of Kentish Town became vacant, until the institution on 17 October 1544 of William Layton, clerk. William Layton remained in the prebend until his death before 24 August 1551: New., i, p.171. From the record of William Layton's institution in Bonner's Register, it would appear that he was appointed on the nomination of the bishop and not of Henry VIII. It is possible that Henry told Bonner whom to appoint, even if formally the advowson remained in the bishop's hands: Reg.Bon., ff.148v.-149.
12. For Serle, see above, chap. 1, p.23. For the Lechmeres, see above, chap. 2, pp.43-45. The advowsons granted to Serle and the Lechmeres were (i) the advowson of the prebend of Hoxton, granted to Serle, Richard Lechmere and Robert Johnson, who gave the benefice to Nicholas Wilson, instituted in 1542: Reg.Bon., f.142v. This appointment was not made by Bonner as both Newcourt and Hennessey assert: New., i, p.164, Hen., p.32. (ii) the advowson of the Rectory of Wiley, granted to Mowle, Staunton, Serle and Richard Lechmere who appointed Brigotte in 1548: Reg.Bon., f.159v. (iii) the advowson of the prebend of Harlesden granted to Mowle and Roger Lechmere, who appointed John Hodgkins in 1547: Reg.Bon., f.165v.

officials, such as the Receiver-General, Thomas Staunton,<sup>13</sup>  
 the diocesan Registrar, Robert Johnson,<sup>14</sup> the chancellor, John  
 Crook,<sup>15</sup> or the ubiquitous Edward Mowle,<sup>16</sup> shared these advowsons

13. For Staunton, see above, chap. 10, p. 338. The advowsons granted to Staunton were (i) the advowson of the rectory of Wiley: see note 12(ii); (ii) the advowson of the rectory of Hackney, granted to Mowle, John Wymmisley, Staunton and Johnson who appointed Thomas Darbyshire in 1554: Reg.Bon., f.452. Bonner did not appoint Darbyshire as Newcourt asserted: New., i, p.519, and also pp.72-73.
14. [REDACTED] The advowsons granted to Johnson were (i) the advowson of the prebent of Hoxton: see above note 12(i); (ii) the advowson of the rectory of Wiley: see above note 12(ii); (iii) the advowson of the prebend of Consumpta-per-Mare, granted to John Crook and Robert Johnson, who appointed John Cliff in 1548: Reg.Bon., f.160. This appointment was not a result of Bonner's patronage as both Newcourt and Hennessey suggest: New., i, p.143, Hen., p.23; (iv) the advowson of the Rectory of Chelmsford, granted to Mowle and Johnson who appointed Thomas crook in 1548: Reg. Bon., f.160v. (v) the advowson of the vicarage of Northall, granted to Mowle, John Wymmisley and Johnson, who appointed John Standish in 1544: Reg.Bon., f.243. Both Newcourt and Hennessey were wrong in asserting that Bonner appointed Standish: New., i, p.703, Hen., p.353. (vi) the advowson of the rectory of Hackney: see above, note 13(ii).
15. Bonner appointed Crook to the prebend of Ealdstreet in 1544, where he remained until his resignation in 1547: Reg.Bon., ff. 147v., 158v. Crook was vicar-general of the diocese from 1543 to 1553: Reg.Bon., ff.114-114v., 331v.-332. Bonner granted Crook and Johnson the advowson of the prebend of Consumpta-per-Mare: see above, note 14(iii).
16. For Mowle, see above, chap.10, p.341, and below note 50. The advowsons granted to Mowle were (i) the advowson of the rectory of Wiley: see above, note 12(i); (ii) the advowson of the rectory of Chelmsford: see above, note 14(iv); (iii) the advowson of the rectory of Much Hadham granted to Mowle who appointed Edmund Brygoote in 1548: Reg.Bon., f.163v; (iv) the advowson of the prebent of Bronnswood granted to Mowle who appointed Gilbert Bourn in 1548: Reg.Bon., f.163v; (v) the advowson of the prebend of Harlesden: see above, note 12(iii); (vi) the advowson of the vicarage of Northall: see above, note 14(v); (vii) the advowson of the rectory of Hackney: see above note 13(ii).

with his relatives John Wymmisley,<sup>17</sup> Thomas Parsons and William Mountjoy.<sup>18</sup> They exercised the patronage either individually or jointly.

Seven out of the ten advowsons granted to Bonner's servant and relatives were exercised in favour of men whom the bishop might well have chosen himself. Edmund Brygotte, twice given preferment by Bonner, was presented in 1548 to the rectories of Much Hadham and Wiley by Mowle.<sup>19</sup> Bonner's chaplain, the celebrated Gilbert Bourn,<sup>20</sup> his suffragan, John Hodgkins<sup>21</sup> and Thomas Darbyshire<sup>22</sup> were amongst

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17. For John Wymmisley see above, chap. 1, p.28 . The advowsons granted to Wymmisley were (i) the advowson of the vicarage of Northall: see above, note 14(v); (ii) the advowson of the rectory of Hackney: see above, note 13(ii).
18. For Thomas Parsons and William Mountjoy, see above, chap. 1, pp.31-34. The advowson granted to them was of the rectory of Stepney where in 1558 they appointed Tristram Swaddle: Reg.Bon., f.478v.
19. Bonner appointed Brygotte Rector of Thornley in 1545, and prebendary of Portpool in 1554, where he remained until his death before September 1562: New., i, p.898, Reg.Bon., f.456 (New., i, p.200). For Brygott's career, see Mullins, op.cit., pp.321-322. For Brygotte's appointments by Mowle see above note 16 (iii) and note 12 (ii).
20. Bonner had appointed Bourne prebend of Wildland in September 1545: Reg.Bon., f.152v. (Hen.p.55). Bourne became Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1554. For the details of Bourne's career see his biography in D.N.B. Bourne's appointment to the prebend of Brownswood was in 1548: Reg.Bon., f.163v. (Hen., p.16), see above, note 16(iv).
21. John Hodgkins, was suffragan Bishop of Bedford from 1537. Bonner appointed him to the rectory of Laingdon with Basildon in July 1544: Reg.Bon., f.148 (New., ii, pp.356-357). Mowle and Roger Lechmere appointed him to the prebend of Harlesden in 1547: Reg. Bon., f.165v. (New., i, p.153), see above, note 12(iii). Hodgkins was deprived of both benefices in 1554: Reg.Bon., ff.451, 450v. Hodgkins was instituted to the Rectory of St.Peter on Cornhill on 2 April 1555: Reg.Bon., f.462 (New., i, p.526). See also Mullins, op.cit., pp.365-366.
22. See over, page 359.

the nine men appointed by virtue of the ten advowsons which Bonner granted to his friends. Two other appointments were Bonner's servant, Tristram Swaddle<sup>23</sup> and the notorious John Standish whom the Bishop had promoted to two rectories, a prebend and archdeaconry of Colchester.<sup>24</sup>

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- 22 - see p.358. For Thomas Darbyshire see above, chap. 1, p.39. Bonner appointed him to the prebend of Tottenhall in July 1543 when he was "in universitate Oxon(iensis) studenti": Reg.Bon., f.144v, (New., i, p.215), to the Rectories of Fulham and St.Magnus the Martyr and to the archdeaconry of Essex in 1558. He was Vicar-general and official principal of the diocese from March 1556: Reg.Bon., f.476v. (New., i, p.608), Reg.Bon., f.477v. (New., i, p.398), Reg.Bon., f.477 (New., i, p.72). Reg.Bon., ff.406v.-407. He was deprived of his benefices before 1 January 1559-1560: Reg.Grin., ff.112, 112v., 113. For Darbyshire's appointment to the Rectory of Hackney by Mowle and others see above note 13(iii).
23. For Tristram Swaddle see above, chap.10, p.342. Bonner probably appointed him to the prebend of Rugmere, for this benefice was in the gift of the Bishop of London, and it is unlikely that Ridley appointed a servant of Bonner's. Swaddle was prebend of Rugmere in July 1559, but was deprived of the prebend before December 1560. W.H.Frere, ed., Registrum Matthei Parker, Diocesis Cantuarensis, 1559-1575, 1928, p.46, Reg.Grin., f.118v. (New., i, p.208). Bonner's nephews, Parsons and Mountjoy appointed Swaddle to the Rectory of Stepney where he was instituted on 10 December 1558: Reg. Bon., f.478v. He was deprived before May 1562: Reg.Grin., f.124v. (New., i, p.739).
24. For Standish's appointment as vicar of Northall in 1544 by Mowle and others see above, note 14(v). Bonner appointed Standish Rector of St. Andrew Undershaft in 1543, from which he was deprived before 20 July 1555, probably in 1554: Reg.Bon., ff.145v., 463v. (Hen., p.93), Mullins, op.cit., pp.414-419. Bonner appointed Standish Rector of Packlesham on 19 November 1554 where he remained until the early years of Elizabeth's reign: Reg. Bon., f.458, New., ii, p.459, Mullins, loc.cit.. On 21 July 1557 Standish was instituted to the prebend of Ealdland, on Bonner's appointment and surviving the changes of 1559 to 1562 he remained in this benefice until his death in 1570: Reg.Bon., f.472v. (Hen., p.25). He had been appointed archdeacon of Colchester in 1552, but was deprived in 1554 only to be reappointed by Bonner in 1558 and finally deprived before 13 December 1559: Mullins, op.cit., pp.414-415; Reg. Bon., f.477, f.483 (New., i, pp.91-92). For the story of his

Of the remaining four advowsons granted by Bonner the most important was the gift to Cromwell "of the nomination of the next archdeaconry which should be void." On Cromwell's attainder the advowson passed into the hands of Henry VIII who in March 1543 appointed Anthony Bellasis to the archdeaconry of Colchester.<sup>25</sup> Bonner gave the other three advowsons, to the office of precentor and to two prebends in St. Paul's to the Duke of Norfolk,<sup>26</sup> to two citizens of London<sup>27</sup> and to Sir Thomas Arundell.<sup>28</sup>

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24 continued, deprivation of his archdeaconry in 1554 and his replacement by Weston see Mullins, loc.cit.

25. L.P., XVIII(1).346(62), see also Reg. Bon., ff.143v-144.

26. Norfolk, to whom Bonner granted the advowson of the precentorship for one term, appointed John Shery who was installed on 27 November 1543: Reg.Bon., f.145v.

27. Bonner granted the advowson of the prebend of Ealdstreet for one term to Ralph Daventry and Richard Humphrey, who in their turn granted it to Sir John Mason who appointed John Warner, doctor of medicine who was instituted on 30 April 1547: Reg. Bon., f.158v.

28. Bonner granted for one term the advowson of the canonry of Newington to Sir Thomas Arundell. On his attainder the advowson passed to Philip and Mary, by whose patronage, but on the nomination of John Harpsfield, John Bexall one of the royal secretaries was instituted on 18 May 1558: Reg. Bon., f.475v.

Thus it has been seen that Bonner might himself have exercised the patronage which he gave to his friends without making many changes among the clergy of the diocese. Nevertheless the fact that in the years before 1549 he granted almost four times as many advowsons as he did between 1553 and 1559 may indicate that during Mary's reign he increased his personal control over patronage and appointments.

During the first ten years of his episcopate Bonner gave preferment to fifty-three priests. Another, John Horne, sub-dean of the cathedral from 1543,<sup>29</sup> was probably his nominee. The appointment of the treasurer, the precentor and the penitentiary of St. Paul's was in Bonner's hands,<sup>30</sup> and it is likely that the advowson of the sub-deanery also belonged to the bishop. Between 1553 and 1559 ninety priests owed their appointments to Bonner. In this period a further six priests probably received benefices from the bishop. It is possible that the advowsons of the rectories of St. Matthew, Friday Street, and St. Catherine Coleman

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29. John Horne: see above, note 2(ii).

30. Bonner appointed Robert Cosen, treasurer of St. Paul's on 16 October 1558, Thomas Cheetham to the office of penitentiary on 16 October 1553, and Henry Heriote to the office of precentor on 28 April 1554: Hen., p.121; Reg. Bon., f.488, Reg. Bon., f.450v. (New., i, p.101).

where Geoffrey Baylye and Giles Moore were installed in 1555 and 1558 belonged to Bonner.<sup>31</sup> The rectory of Broxbourne was in

Bonner's hands,<sup>32</sup> and it is most probable that he appointed

Thomas Bracher to this benefice sometime between 1554 and 1560.<sup>33</sup>

The prebend of Reculverland was also a benefice in the gift of the

Bishop of London. At some date between October 1558 when Willanton

resigned<sup>34</sup> and July 1559 "magister Edmundus Bonner alias Wimsleye"

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31. Hen., p.435; ibid., p.117 (Reg.Bon., f.475).

32. Bonner appointed rectors of Broxbourne in 1540, 1545, 1549 and 1544: Reg.Bon., ff.133, 152, 165v., 454. See also New., i, p.812.

33. John Baker was instituted to the rectory of Broxbourne on 18 July 1554. No further institution to the benefice has been found until 1560, when Thomas Bracher was recorded as having been deprived of the rectory. Bracher had probably succeeded to the benefice on Baker's resignation or death. See Reg.Bon., f.454; Reg. Grin., f.117v. (New., i, pp.812-813).

34. Robert Willanton received six benefices from Bonner. On 28 October 1545 he became chantrist in the lower chapel of the bishop's palace in London, on 7 November 1548 prebend of Wildland, on 25 January 1556 rector of Hornsey and on 10 February 1558 prebend of Reculverland. He probably resigned Reculverland before his institution on 6 October 1558 to the prebend of St. Pancras and to the office of penitentiary: Reg. Bon., f.153v.; ibid., f.163v (Hen., p.55); Reg.Bon., f.496v. (New., i, p.653); Reg.Bon., f.474, and see also Mullins, op.cit., p.295; Reg.Bon., f.477. He may have been chaplain to Bonner in 1555; Foster, op.cit., p.1635. It is unlikely that he held the prebend of Ealdland during 1558: Mullins, op.cit., p.419. Willanton was deprived of the rectory of Hornsey before 29 April 1560 and of St. Pancras and the office of penitentiary before 1 January 1559-1560: Reg. Grin., f.114v. (New., i, p.653); Reg. Grin., f.112v., see also New., i, 196. In 1561 a Thomas Willanton "late chaplain to Dr. Bonner" in a list of recusants was described as "stiff and not unlearned".

was installed. Although it is possible that Edmund Wimsleye was appointed by the commissioners who conducted the affairs of the diocese after Bonner's deprivation, it is more likely that the bishop nominated his namesake to this prebend.<sup>35</sup> Richard Marshall was probably appointed canon of Neasden in the first half of 1559. Since he was deprived some time during 1560 it is unlikely that he owed his appointment to the commissioners.<sup>36</sup> There is also a gap in the list of institutions to the prebend of Rugmere. Tristram Swaddle<sup>37</sup> was deprived of the benefice before December 1560 but the date when he succeeded Thomas Bennett<sup>38</sup> is unknown. It is however unlikely that Swaddle was appointed by Ridley, for he was one of Bonner's servants.

Bonner may not have been able to find as many educated clergy for the benefices in his diocese as he wished. Out of fifty-four clergy to whom he granted benefices between 1539 and 1549 only half appear to have graduated from university. Another

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35. Edmund Wimsleye was thus described and the prebend of Reculver-land assigned to him on 23 July 1559: Frere, loc.cit., Wimsleye who was described in the report of 1560 on the clergy of St. Paul's as "nil graduatus" may perhaps be identified with the Oxford student who took his B.A. in 1562 and his M.A. in 1566. He held the rectory of Tattenhall, Cheshire from 1572: Mullins, op.cit., p.254, and also p.295; Foster, op.cit., p.1658.

36. Richard Marshall, dean of Christ Church Oxford, succeeded William Ernestead as prebend of Neasden. He was in the prebend on 23 July 1559, but had vacated it when the survey of the clergy of St. Paul's was made in 1560: Foster, op.cit., p.975, Frere, loc.cit., Mullins, op.cit., p.295. Marshall was a prebend of Winchester from 1554: Foster, loc.cit., see also Hen., p.xl.

37. For Swaddle, see above, chap.10, p.342, and above note 23.

38. Hen., p.48.



William Darbyshire was a student at Oxford when he was appointed prebend of Mora on 26 April 1544.<sup>39</sup> In the second half of the episcopate the proportion of graduate clergy seems to have risen slightly, for out of ninety-six, fifty-three, just over 54%, probably graduated. Another, George Lilley,<sup>40</sup> son of the famous grammarian, was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford but left without taking his degree. John Parkynson,<sup>41</sup> rector of St. Michael Milend by Colchester may have matriculated at Cambridge, but there is no record that he graduated.

Far more Oxford graduates received preferment from Bonner than Cambridge graduates. Between 1539 and 1549 twelve<sup>42</sup> Oxford

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39. See above, chap. 1, p.39. Reg.Bon., f.147. (Newcourt was wrong to give the date of William's institution as 24 August: New., i, p.180). William Darbyshire should not be confused with Thomas Darbyshire, Bonner's archdeacon and vicar-general, as for instance in Hennessey: Hen., p.38. William died in 1551 when he was a student at Broadgates Hall: New., i, p.180; Foster, op.cit., p.372.
40. Lilley was prebend of Kentish Town from November 1556 until his death before 29 July 1559: Reg.Bon., f.469. See Hen., p.XXXVII, and New., i, p.171. Lilley received a canonry at Canterbury in 1558. Le Neve, i, p.47.
41. John Parkynson, described at his institution as "pr(esbitus)", may have matriculated from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1551: J. and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigenses..., i, From the Earliest Times to 1751, 1922-1927, iii, p.311.
42. (i) Bourne: Foster, op.cit., p.156. (ii) Brygotte, Mullins; op.cit., pp.321-322; (iii) Chedsey: Foster, op.cit., p.265 (iv) H.Cole: ibid., p.301 (v) Cosen: ibid., p.332 (vi) Crook: ibid., p.352. (vii) T.Darbyshire: see above note 22, Foster, op.cit., p.372 (viii) Dunne: ibid., p.414 (ix) Gale: ibid., 543. (x) Standish: see above, note 24, Foster, op.cit., p.1407. (xi) John Wymissley: ibid., p.1658. (xii) Weston: Le Neve, iii, pp.374, 487, 518, 557.

men and three<sup>43</sup> who probably took their degrees at Oxford were appointed to benefices in the diocese. Eight<sup>44</sup> Cambridge graduates

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43. (i) John Smyth, described at his institution to the vicarage of Dedeham on 26 December 1539 as bachelor of law, may be identified with the Smyth who took his B.C.L. at Oxford in July 1539 and his doctorate the following year: Reg.Bon., f.130, Foster, op.cit., p.1373, see above, note 2(iv). (ii) Richard Turner, instituted to the vicarage of Hillingdon on 3 December 1545 may perhaps be the Turner who took his B.A. in 1524 and his M.A. in 1529. It is unlikely that he is to be identified with the Richard Turner of Magdalen College, Oxford who became doctor of divinity in 1552, and who fled abroad during Mary's reign. The vicar of Hillingdon seems to have remained undisturbed in his benefice until his death sometime before 12 October 1558, and probably received the rectory of St. Mary's Finchley from Bonner in 1554: New., i, p.650, Foster, op.cit., p.1521, Reg. Bon., f.458v. (New., i, p.605). (iii) Thomas Wood, described as bachelor of theology at this institution as vicar of South-Wedlwith Brentford on 21 September 1543 may perhaps be the Wood who took his B.A. at Oxford in 1520 and his M.A. in 1524: Reg.Bon., f.145 (New., ii, p.645), Foster, op.cit., p.1672.
44. (i) Atherton; Venn, op.cit., i, p.51. (ii) Buckmaster: ibid., p.248. (iii) W.Cliff: ibid., p.355 (iv) Higden: ibid., ii, p.367. (v) Hill: ibid., p.370. (vi) Hodgkins: see above, note 21, Mullins, op.cit., p.365. (vii) May: Venn, op.cit., iii, p.167. (viii) Willanton took his B.A. at Cambridge in 1534 and his M.A. two years later. He was incorporated at Oxford in 1540, and supplicated for the degree of bachelor of divinity in 1543: Foster, op.cit., p.1635, see above, note 34.

and three<sup>45</sup> who may have been at Cambridge benefitted from Bonner's patronage. During the second half of his episcopate the preferment of Oxford as opposed to Cambridge graduates became more noticeable. Twenty-two<sup>46</sup> Oxford men and

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45. (i) It is possible that Richard Baldwyer, who on his institution to Birch Magna was described as professor of theology is to be identified with Richard Baldwer who took the degree of bachelor of canon law at Cambridge in 1524: Reg.Bon., f.150, Venn, op.cit., i, p.74. (ii) John Longe was described as bachelor of law on his institution as chantrist of the chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the lower chapel of the bishop's palace in London on 22 June 1542. He may be identified with the Long who was admitted to King's College Cambridge from Eton in 1533, and who took his B.A. in 1538: Reg. Bon., f.140v., Venn, op.cit., iii, p.102. (iii) Hugh Vaughan whom Bonner appointed to the vicarage of Coggeshal on 20 July 1545 was then described as bachelor of law. At his institutions to the rectory of Notley Nigra in 1532 and to the rectory of Mistley in 1533 he was described as bachelor of divinity. A Hugh Vaughan proceeded to the degree of bachelor of canon law at Cambridge in 1526: New., ii, pp.160, 443, 422, Venn, op.cit., iv, p.295.
46. (i) Allen: Foster, op.cit., p.17. (ii) Byrd: ibid., p.127. (iii) A. Cole: ibid., p.300. (iv) Dugdale: ibid., p.430. (v) Evans: Le Neve, ii, p.399, i, p.84, Foster, op.cit., p.469. (vi) Feckenham: ibid., p.489. (vii) J. Harpsfield: ibid., p.652. (viii) N. Harpsfield: ibid., p.652. (ix) Langrish: Mullins, op.cit., pp.378-9. (x) Marshall: ibid., p.295, Foster, op.cit., p.975. (xi) Messenger, alias Musmere; Mullins, op.cit., pp.183n., 295, Foster, op.cit., p.1047. (xii) Merren: Mullins, op.cit., p.295, Foster, op.cit., p.1040. (xiii) Parris: ibid., p.1125. (xiv) Pendilton: ibid., p.1141. (xv) Stoning: ibid., p.1430. (xvi) Steepes: Mullins, op.cit., p.420, Foster, op.cit., p.1430. (xvii) Sydall: ibid., p.1356. (xviii) Robert Tyffyn was described as a bachelor of divinity at his institution to the rectory of St. James' Garlockhithe in 1558. No record survives that he preceeded to this degree but in 1541 he took a doctorate of divinity: Reg.Bon., f.476v., (Hen., p.248), Foster, op.cit., p.1486. (xix) Walker: ibid., p.1558. (xx) Watson: ibid., p.1583. (xxi) Weale: ibid., p.1587. (xxii) E. Wimsleye, alias Wimmisley: see above, note 35, Foster, op.cit., p.1658.

eight<sup>47</sup> who may have been educated at Oxford were nominated to  
benefices in London by Bonner. Only thirteen<sup>48</sup> Cambridge graduates

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47. (i) John Cryse who was instituted rector of Stanway-Magna in 1555 may possibly be identified with John Cryse, alias Crise who took his B.C.L. at Oxford in 1520, his B.Can. L. in 1530, and who became bachelor of divinity in 1531: New., ii, p.554, Foster, op.cit., p.360. (ii) John Freeman, vicar of Redgewell in 1555, may have taken his B.A. from Gloucester College Oxford in 1539: New., ii, p.490, Foster, op.cit., p.532. (iii) John Gybbes; who was vicar of Rickling from 1558 may have taken his B.A., at Oxford in 1522, his M.A. in 1526 and his B.D. in 1532: New., ii, p.494, Foster, op.cit., p.521. (iv) William Harwood, vicar of East Ham from 1553 to 1559 may perhaps be identified with William Harwar who took his B.A. in 1534: New., ii, p.302, Foster, op.cit., p.668. (v) John Mason was instituted to the rectory of Ashdon in 1555. He may have taken his B.A. at Oxford in 1528: New., ii, p.21, Foster, op.cit., p.983. (vi) Edward Ryley, rector of St. Andrew Undershaft from 1556, of St. James' Garlickhithe from 1558 and vicar of Wakering Magna from 1555, perhaps a Minorite, ~~he~~ may have taken his B.D. at Oxford in June 1533: New., i, pp.268, 367, ibid., ii, p.620, Foster, op.cit., p.1294. (vii) Henry Slythurst was vicar of Dedeham from 1555 until his death before 13 October 1565. He may possibly be identified with Henry Slithus, alias Slythus who supplicated for his B.A. in 1510: Reg.Bon., f.464, (New., ii, p.210) Foster, op.cit., p.1366. (viii) John Thorpe was rector of St. Mary Colchester from June 1555. He may have taken his B.A., at Cambridge in 1517 or 1520, but it seems more probable that, if he was a graduate, he is to be identified with John Thorpe who supplicated for his B.A., at Oxford in 1538: New., ii, p.175, Venn, op.cit., iv, p.236, Foster, op.cit., p.1482.
48. (i) Cheetham: Venn, op.cit., i, p.328. (ii) Collyer: ibid., p.372. (iii) Cowper: ibid., p.391. (iv) Dale: ibid., ii, p.4. (v) Hervie: Le Neve, iii, pp.604, 679, Venn, op.cit., ii, p.323. (vi) Lukyn: ibid., iii, p.35. (vii) Moreton: ibid., p.219. (viii) G.Ottway: ibid., p.287. (ix) John Radcliffe took his M.A. at Cambridge in 1538. He was incorporated at Oxford and in 1545 took his B.D., at Oxford: Foster op.cit., p.1228. (x) Richardson: see above, note 4, Venn, op.cit., iii, p.451. (xi) Scott: Le Neve, iii, pp.258, 604, 690, Venn, op.cit., iv, p.31. (xii) Stookes: ibid., p.167. (xiii) Young: ibid., p.493.

and three<sup>49</sup> who may have been Cambridge graduates received preferment at his hands. Between 1539 and 1549 one<sup>50</sup> graduate whose university is not now known was appointed by Bonner. In the second

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49. (i) John Brabant, prebendary of Osgate in 1555 may perhaps be identified with one "Brabaine" who took his B.A., at Cambridge in 1530: Reg. Bon., f.464v. (Hen., p.42), Venn, op.cit., i, p.197, Mullins, op.cit., p.320. (ii) Thomas Dyconson, instituted to the rectory of St. Mary's Colchester on 24 December 1554 may have been admitted to King's College, Cambridge from Eton in 1522, taking his B.A., in 1527 and his M.A. in 1531. Dyconson remained at St. Mary's until his death before 4 August 1558: Reg. Bon., ff.469, 476v. (New., ii, p.175) Venn, op.cit., ii, p.40. (iii) John Kingston was Rector of Aldham from 1555 to 1557, and rector of Birch Magna from 1557 until his death before 23 October 1558. On his institution to Birch Magna, on Bonner's nomination, but on the presentation of Lord Rich, he was described as bachelor of law. It is possible that he is to be identified with the John Kingston who became bachelor of canon law at Cambridge in 1518; Reg. Bon., ff.461v, 472 (New., ii, p.7. Newcourt was wrong to state that John Kingston was deprived of Aldham in 1560; He resigned in 1557, being succeeded by Richard Kingston), Reg. Bon., ff.472, 477 (New., ii, p.59), see above, note 4, Venn, op.cit., iii, p.22.
50. At his institutions to the archdeaconries of London and Essex in 1543 Edward Mowle was described as "cl(er)ico". On the occasion of his preferment by royal letters patent in October 1540 to prebends in the diocese of St. David's he was described as M.A. It is possible that the description in the letters patent was wrong for no record of Mowle's attendance at Oxford or Cambridge has been found. On the other hand the lists of English graduates may be defective, or Mowle may have studied abroad. He was probably a man of some erudition. Reg. Bon., ff. 144v., 145, L.P., XVI.220(24), see above, chap.10; p.341 .

half of the episcopate, six<sup>51</sup> men who may have been graduates but who cannot with certainty be assigned either to Oxford or to Cambridge were nominated to benefices in London. Even if those men were all graduates of Cambridge, Oxford men would still outnumber Cambridge graduates 47 to 34.

This discrepancy between the numbers from Oxford and from Cambridge suggests that in the later years of his episcopate the

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51. (i) At his institution to the rectory of Broxbourne in 1554 John Baker was described as master of arts. A John Baker took the degree of B.A. at Oxford in 1533, but no record has been found that he proceeded further. At his institution to the vicarage of Bromefield in September 1554 Baker was described simply as "pr(esbiterus)".: Reg. Bon., f.454 (New., i, p.812), Foster, op.cit., p.57, Reg. Bon., f.456 (New., ii, p.96). (ii) Robert Bracher was described as bachelor of theology on his institution to the vicarage of Barling in 1556, and also when as vicar of Aveley he subscribed in 1559. No trace has been found of him in the university lists: Reg. Bon., f.465 v., H.Gee, The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion, 1898, p.103. (iii) William Canon was described as master of arts at his institution as vicar of Gosfield in 1555, but he has not been found in the university lists: Reg. Bon., f.463v. (iv) John Collys was described as master of arts at his institution to the rectory of St. Clement Eastcheap in 1555 but he has not been found in the university lists: Reg. Bon., f.462. (v) George Leedes, alias Leads was described as master of arts at his institution to the rectory of Hanwell on 19 November 1558, but no degree was assigned to him in the record of his institution to the vicarage of St. Mary Abbot's Kensington on the same day: Reg. Bon., f.477v. (vi) Richard Peele was described as master of arts at his institution to the rectory of Chesterford Parva in 1554, but his name has not been found in the university lists: Reg. Bon., f.459v.

bishop consciously preferred Oxford graduates as incumbents of benefices at his disposal. He may have been moved by an affectionate regard for his old university. But it is more likely that Cambridge, in the vanguard of the Protestant Reformation, produced fewer graduates than Oxford in whose favour a conservative such as Bonner could happily exercise his patronage.

Among the graduates beneficed by Bonner it is possible to distinguish three main groups: the theologians, the lawyers and those men who are not known to have proceeded beyond an arts degree. In the first ten years of his episcopate the bishop gave preferment to fourteen<sup>52</sup> men who had achieved the degree either of bachelor or of doctor of divinity. Nine<sup>53</sup> were lawyers and only four<sup>54</sup> appear not to have proceeded to a higher degree. In the second half of the episcopate the proportion of theologians and lawyers to those who had a B.A. or an M.A. changed considerably. Those who are not

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52. Oxford theologians: Bourne, Brygote, Chedsey, Dunne, Gale, Standish, Weston: see above, note 42, i, ii, iii, viii, ix, x, xii. Wood: see above, note 43(iii).  
Cambridge theologians: Baldwire: see above, note 45(i).  
Buckmaster, Higden, Hill, Hodgkins, Willanton: see above, note 44, (ii), (iv), (v), (vi), (viii).
53. Oxford lawyers: H.Cole, Crook, T.Darbyshire, Wymmsley: see above, note 42, (iv), (vi), (vii), (xi). Smyth: see above, note 43(i).  
Cambridge lawyers: W.Cliff, May: see above, note 44 (iii), (vii). Longe and Vaughan: see above, note 45 (ii), (iii).
54. Oxford B.A. or M.A.: Cosen: see above, note 42(y), Turner: see above, note 43(ii).  
Cambridge B.A. or M.A.: Atherton, see above, note 44(i).  
M.A., university unknown: Mowle, see above: note 50.

known to have received a higher degree numbered twenty-six<sup>55</sup> out of the fifty-three graduates, an increase from just under 15% to 49%. Bonner appointed nineteen theologians<sup>56</sup> during the second half of his episcopate. By comparison with the proportion of theologians among the graduates appointed between 1539 and 1549 this was a decrease from 60% to 38%. The number of lawyers appointed fell not only proportionately but in fact for between 1553

55. Nine Oxford M.A.s: Dugdale, Evans, Messenger, Morren, Parris, Steepes, Watson, Wymmisley: see above, note 46 (iv), (v), (xi), (xii), (xiii), (xvi), (xx), (xxii), and Ryley: see above, note 47 (vi). In three cases this classification is slightly misleading. Although he had not proceeded beyond an M.A. James Dugdale was an academic of sufficient distinction to be made master of University College in 1558: Le Neve, iii, p.537, see also New., i, p.95. John Watson took his M.A. in 1544. He became doctor of medicine, but since he waited until 1575 before he supplicated for this degree, he may for the purposes of this analysis of Bonner's nominees be classed as an M.A.: Foster, op.cit., p.1583. Edmund Wimsley or Wymmisley was a student when he was promoted to the prebend of Reculverland, for he did not take his B.A. until 1562 and his M.A. until 1566: see above, note 35. Seven Oxford B.A.s: Allen, Walker: see above, note 46 (i), (xix), Freeman, Harwood, Mason, Slythurst, Thorpe: see above, note 47 (ii), (iv), (v), (vii), (viii).

Four Cambridge M.A.s: Collyer, Cowper, Ottway: see above, note 48 (ii), (iii), (viii)., Dyconson: see above, note 49 (ii).

One Cambridge B.A.: Brabant: see above, note 49(i).

Five M.A.s, university unknown: Baker, Canon, Collis, Leedes, Peels, see above, note 51 (i), (iii), (iv), (v), (vi).

56. Oxford theologians: Bryd, A.Cole, Feckenham, J.Harpsfield, Langrish, Marshall, Pendilton, Stoning, Tyffyn, Weale: see above, note 46, (ii), (iii), (vi), (vii), (ix), (x), (xiv), (xv), (xviii), (xxi), Gybbes: see above, note 47 (iii).

Cambridge theologians: Cheetham, Dale, Lukyn, Scott, Stookes, Young: see above, note 48 (i), (iv), (vi), (xi), (xii), (xiii). Another theologian, John Radcliffe, took his M.A. at Cambridge but his B.D. at Oxford: see above, note 48 (ix)

The university of Robert Bracher is not known: see above, note 50 (ii).



and 1559 Bonner appointed only seven.<sup>57</sup>

Bonner was himself a lawyer<sup>58</sup> and some of his close associates such as his vicar-general, Thomas Darbyshire, and his archdeacon, John Wymmisley,<sup>59</sup> also held degrees in civil or canon law. It is possible that the bishop's first inclination may have been to appoint lawyers to positions of importance in the diocese. In the second half of his episcopate Bonner may not have been able to find enough lawyers to fill the prebends and benefices at his disposal. It is possible, however, that after a reign of drastic religious changes, the bishop was determined to increase the number of divines holding livings within his diocese.

Bonner usually appointed graduates to vacant prebends in St. Paul's. Only three of the canons whom he appointed do not appear to have taken a degree at Oxford or Cambridge. Bonner may have been influenced by Henry VIII to appoint William Layton to the prebend of Kentish Town in 1554.<sup>60</sup> Another canon, William

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57. Among the lawyers there is one, Cryse, who was both bachelor of canon and civil law and also bachelor of divinity: see above, note 47 (i). The other two Oxford Lawyers were N. Harpsfield and Sydall: see above, note 46 (viii), (xvii). The Cambridge lawyers were Hervie, Moreton and Richardson: see above note 48 (v), (vii), (x), and Kingston: see above, note 49 (iii).

58. See above, chap. 2, pp. 49-51.

59. Darbyshire, a student at Broadgates' Hall, received the degree of bachelor of civil law in 1553 and his doctorate in 1556: see above, note 22, Foster, *op.cit.*, p. 372. John Wymmisley took his bachelor of civil law from Broadgates' in 1533: *ibid.* p. 1658.

60. see above, note 11.

Ibrye, appointed to Ealdland in 1548, is not known to have held a university degree.<sup>61</sup> Tristram, Swaddle, Bonner's servant, was the third non-graduate canon to be appointed during the episcopate.<sup>62</sup> Edward Mowle, the only other canon appointed by Bonner the details of whose education is in doubt, was probably a learned man.<sup>63</sup>

Some of the canons whom Bonner appointed were not only educated men but were very distinguished academics. Four of his canons were heads of Cambridge colleges. Cuthbert Scott was master of Christ's<sup>64</sup> and John Young master of Pembroke.<sup>65</sup> Henry Hervie, who exchanged the archdeaconry of Middlesex for the office of precentor in 1554, was Master of Trinity Hall Cambridge from 1560

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61. Bonner appointed William Ibrye prebend of Ealdland on 11 June 1548. At his institution he was described as "clericus", and his name has not been found in the lists of Oxford and Cambridge graduates: Reg. Bon., f.162 (New., i, pp.146-147), see also Hen. pp.25, 348, xxxii.
62. See above, note 23. His name has not been found in the lists of Oxford and Cambridge graduates.
63. See above, notes 16 and 50.
64. Cuthbert Scott was prebend of Chamberlainwood from April 1554 until he was promoted to the Bishopric of Chester in 1556, which he held until he was deprived in 1559. He became doctor of divinity at Cambridge in 1547 and was master of Christ's from 1553 until 1556: Reg. Bon., ff.450v., 475 (New., i, pp.135-136), Le Neve, iii, pp.258, 604, 690, Venn, op.cit., iv, p.31. See also his biography in D.N.B.
65. Young took his B.D. in 1548 and his doctorate in 1552-1553. He was vice-chancellor of Cambridge in 1553-1554 and Regius Professor of Divinity in 1555. He became master of Pembroke in 1554, the same year in which he became Rector of St. Margaret, New Fish Street, canon of Ely, Rector of Stretham, Cambridgeshire and Rector of Rackheath Norfolk: Venn, op.cit., iv, p.493; Reg. Bon., ff.458v., 466 (New., i, p.406). He resigned St. Margaret New Fish Street before 2 April 1556 and was deprived of his other preferments in 1559. He died in Wisbech Castle in 1579: Reg. Bon., f.466, Venn, loc.cit.

until 1584,<sup>66</sup> William May was President of Queens'.<sup>67</sup> Another, William Buckmaster<sup>68</sup> was three times vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and from 1532 until 1538 he was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in that university. Even more remarkable were the academic attainments of the Oxford graduates in the chapter. Nicholas Harpsfield,<sup>69</sup> was Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. Seven of the canons whom Bonner appointed were heads of Oxford Colleges. Arthur Cole<sup>70</sup> was

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66. Henry Hervie was appointed archdeacon of Middlesex in 1551. He resigned the archdeaconry, and Bonner appointed him precentor on 28 April 1554, in which office he remained until 1585. He was vicar-general of the diocese of Canterbury from 1550 until 1555. In 1556 he acted on the commission to detect heretical books at Cambridge and four years later he became master of Trinity Hall. He held the Rectory of Littlebury from 1554 until 1582: New., i, p.81, Reg. Bon., f.450v. (New., i, p.101), biography in D.N.B. Venn, op.cit., ii, p.323, New., ii, p.394.
67. May, prebend of Chamberlainwood from 1545 until his resignation in 1554, and also dean of St. Paul's from 1546 until his deprivation in 1553, was President of Queens' from 1539 to 1554 and again from 1559 until his death in 1560: Reg. Bon., ff.154, 450 (New., i, p.135), Le Neve, ii, pp.314-315, Venn, op.cit., iii, p.167.
68. William Buckmaster, prebend of Holborn from 1541 until his death in 1545, was vice-chancellor of Cambridge in 1529, 1538 and 1539: Reg. Bon., ff.135v., 153 (New., i, p.158), Venn, op.cit., i, p.248, biography in D.N.B.
69. New., i, p.153. See below note 83.
70. Arthur Cole, appointed prebend of Twyford by Bonner in 1554, became doctor of divinity in 1555. He was President of Magdalen from 1555 until his death in 1558: Reg. Bon., f.451, Foster, op.cit., p.300, Mullins, op.cit., p.295.

President of Magdalen College and Henry Cole<sup>71</sup> Warden of New College. William Chedsey<sup>72</sup> was President of Corpus Christi, Thomas Darbyshire<sup>73</sup> President of Broadgates and James Dugdale,<sup>74</sup> Master of University College. Richard Marshall was dean of Christ Church<sup>75</sup> and Hugh Weston<sup>76</sup> Rector of Lincoln.

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71. Henry Cole was appointed to the prebend of Holborn in 1540, exchanging this for Sneating in 1541, exchanging Sneating for Wenlakesbarn in 1542. He held Wenlakesbarn until he was deprived in 1559. He owed his appointment to these prebends to Bonner who also appointed him rector of Chelmsford in 1540, which he held for eight years. Cole took his doctorate of law at Oxford in 1540, and in 1554 he was dispensed for the degrees of B.D. and D.D. He was warden of New College from 1542 until 1551. He was elected Dean of St. Paul's in 1556. Reg. Bon. ff.132, 135v., 139v., New., i, p.222, Mullins, op.cit., p.254, Reg. Bon., ff.131, 160v., New., ii, p.129, Foster, op.cit., p.301. See also his biography in D.N.B.
  
72. Chedsey was President of Corpus Christi from 1558 to 1559. Bonner appointed him prebend of Twyford in 1548, which he exchanged for Chiswick in 1554. The bishop also appointed him archdeacon of Middlesex in 1556, where he remained until his deprivation before 1 January 1559-1560: Le Neve, iii, p.566, Foster, op.cit., p.265, Reg. Bon., f.162v. (New., i, p.218) Reg. Bon., f.451 (Hen., p.22), Reg. Bon., f.468, Reg. Grin., f.112 (New., i, pp.81-82). Chedsey also held canonries at Windsor from 1554 and at Oxford from 1557. Other preferments included the rectories of West Hendred, Buckinghamshire from 1545, Weston Colville, Cambridgeshire from 1549, Thackham, Sussex from 1554 and All Hallows', Bread Street, from 1558 and the vicarage of Skttesbrooke from 1558: Foster, loc.cit., Le Neve, iii, pp.394-395, 527. He is said to have been one of Bonner's chaplains: Hen., p.XIX. See his biography in D.N.B.
  
73. See above, note 22 and also D.Maclean, A History of Pembroke College Oxford anciently Broadgates Hall, Oxford Historical Society, xxxiii, 1897, p.86.
  
74. See above, note, 55 (i, a).
  
75. Foster, op.cit., p.975, see above, note 36.
  
76. See below, note 81.

Bonner did not take vigorous action to prevent his nominees holding more than one living. In some cases he himself gave two or more benefices to the same cleric. Between 1539 and 1549 Mowle held a prebend in the cathedral, an archdeaconry and the rectory of Copford.<sup>77</sup> John Wymmisley as well as holding benefices outside the diocese of London was also given a prebend and an archdeaconry by Bonner.<sup>78</sup> Henry Cole received four benefices from Bonner, although at no time did he hold more than one prebend together with the rectory of Chelmsford.<sup>79</sup> Robert Higden held a prebend and a rectory in London, and for a year may also have held a chantry in

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77. See above, chap. 10, p. 341, and above notes, 16 and 50. Mowle held the archdeaconry of London for three months in 1543 and then exchanged it for the archdeaconry of Essex which he held until his death before 23 October 1558. He held the prebend of Chiswick from 1539 until he exchanged it for Holywell in 1534. He was appointed rector of Copford in 1545: Reg. Bon., ff. 144v., 145, Hen., pp. 22, 31, Reg. Bon., f. 154v., New., ii, p. 192.
78. John Wymmisley held the prebend of Sneating from 1542 until his death in 1556. Bonner appointed him to the archdeaconry of London in 1543. In 1554 he exchanged this for the archdeaconry of Middlesex. He was also rector of Torperly Cheshire from 1533, Vicar of Castleton, Co. Derby from 1546, rector of Uppingham, Rutland from 1554 and canon of Chester from 1554 until 1556. He was also rector of Ridmerley, Worcestershire when he leased the farm of the rectory to Thomas and Eleanor Serle and William Stone. He may also have been rector of Davenham, Cheshire: Reg. Bon., ff. 139v., 145v., 449v., Foster, op. cit., p. 1658, Reg. Bon., f. 218, see above, note 3, Hen., p. XVII.
79. See above, note 71.

the bishop's palace with his other benefices.<sup>80</sup> John Combes was appointed to the vicarage of Rickling in 1543 and to a chantry in the episcopal palace in 1544. Until his death some time before the end of October 1545 he held both benefices which he owed to Bonner.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, for a few months at the end of 1544 and the beginning of 1545 Thomas Sudbury held a chantry in the chapel of the Guildhall and the vicarage of East Ham.<sup>82</sup> It is possible that the pastoral care of the parishes in the diocese suffered most when a cleric combined two rectories or vicarages. Only one of Bonner's nominees in this period held two vicarages. Gilbert Woodward was vicar of Broxbourne from 1540, and vicar of Wakering-Magna from 1541 until his death in 1545.<sup>83</sup>

Between 1539 and 1549 twelve of Bonner's nominees either held or later received livings from other patrons as well as the benefices to which they were appointed by the bishop. Buckmaster held a

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80. Higden held the prebend of Ealdstreet and the rectory of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, both of which he received from Bonner, from 1541 until his death in 1544. He was also chantrist of the chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the lower chapel of the bishop's palace and rector of Northall: New., i, pp.149, 313, Reg. Bon., f.243 (New., i, p.703), Reg. Bon., f.140v.

81. Reg. Bon., ff.149v., 153v; Reg. Bon., ff.141v., 157v. (New., ii, p.494).

82. Reg. Bon., ff.137v., 151v., Reg. Bon., ff.148v., 155 (New., ii, p.302).

83. Reg. Bon., ff.133, 152 (New., i, p.812), Reg. Bon., f.136 (New., ii, p.620).

prebend at Hereford,<sup>84</sup> William Cliff was dean of Chester,<sup>85</sup> and May was rector of Littlebury and a canon of Ely<sup>86</sup> when they were made canons of St. Paul's. Bonner nominated Richard Baldwyer,<sup>87</sup> Hill<sup>88</sup> and Vaughan<sup>89</sup> to a rectory or a vicarage when they were already holding another country living. After their appointment

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84. See above, note 68. Buckmaster was prebend of Hereford from 1539 to 1545: Le.Neve, i, p.500.
85. William Cliff was dean of Chester from 1547 until his death about 7 December 1558. Bonner appointed him prebend of Hoxton on 11 June 1548: Le.Neve, iii, p.264, Reg. Bon., ff.162, 478v. (Hen. p.32).
86. See above, note 67. May was rector of Littlebury from 1538 until 1554 and prebend of Ely from 1541 until 1554. He was deprived of both benefices: New., ii, p.394, Le Neve, i, p. 356.
87. See above, note 45 (i). Baldwyer was rector of Tollyshunt Miltis from 1526 until his death in 1550. Bonner nominated him to the rectory of Birch Magna on 9 August 1544, where he remained for less than two years. He was also rector of Farnham for a few months in 1546: New., ii, p.606, Reg. Bon. ff.150, 156 (New., ii, p.59), Reg. Bon., ff.155, 156 (New., ii, p.256).
88. Christopher Hill was rector of Althamston from 1538 until 1558. Bonner appointed him vicar of Wakering-Magna on 20 July 1545, where he remained until 1548. He later became rector of Belchamp-Oten which he held from 1548 until sometime before 1565: New., ii, p.8, ibid., p.620, Reg. Bon., f.162v., New., ii, p.43.
89. See above note 45 (iii). When Bonner appointed Hugh Vaughan to the vicarage of Coggeshall on 20 July 1545 he was holding the rectory of Notley Nigra, and perhaps also the rectory of Gestinthorp: New., ii, p.160, ibid., p.443, ibid., p.280. In 1545 he may also have been rector of St. Brigit Mechen in the diocese of St. Asaph for which benefice he resigned the vicarage of Halstead in 1540: Reg. Bon., f.132 (see also New., ii, p.299).

by Bonner, Burton,<sup>90</sup> Dunne,<sup>91</sup> Gale,<sup>92</sup> Hodgkins,<sup>93</sup> Ibrye,<sup>94</sup> and Wood<sup>95</sup> received other benefices from different patrons.

Between 1553 and 1559 Bonner granted a second or third benefice to twenty-one clergy in whose favour he had already exercised his

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90. Nicholas Burton was appointed rector of St. Andrew's Holborn by Bonner in 1541. He remained there until his death before 8 February 1558-1559. For a few months in 1546 he was rector of Leigh Essex, through the patronage of Anthony Skinner: New., i, p.275; Reg. Bon., ff.154v., 156v. (Mullins, op.cit., p.331).
91. Bonner appointed Dunne prebend of Mapesbury in 1541. Richard Williams alias Cromwell gave him the rectory of Stepney in 1544. Dunne remained in both benefices until his death on 5 December 1558: Reg. Bon., ff.135, 478v. (New., i, p.175), Reg. Bon., ff. 243, 478v. (New., i, p.739); Foster, op.cit., p.414.
92. Thomas Gale was vicar of Halstead from 1540 to 1557. He also held the rectory of St. Leonard's Colchester for a few months in 1557: Reg. Bon., ff.132, 473 (New., ii, p.299); Reg. Bon., f.470. (New., ii, p.173).
93. See above, note 21.
94. See above, note 61. William Ibrye was prebend of Ealdland from 11 June 1548 until his death in 1557. From 1554 until 1557 he was also rector of St. Mary Mounthaw, through the patronage of the Bishop of Hereford: Reg. Bon., ff. 162, 472v. (New., i, pp.146-147); Reg. Bon., ff.454, 472v. (New., i, p.414).
95. See above, note 43 (iii). Bonner appointed Thomas Wood vicar of South-Weld with Brentford on 21 September 1543 where he remained until his resignation in 1558: Reg. Bon., f.145, New., ii, p.645. In 1554 a man of this name received prebends at Westminster, where he remained until 1556 and at Canterbury and the rectories of High Ongar and Bradwell-iuxta-Mare: Hen., p.446; Le Neve, i, pp.59-60; New., ii, p.453; p.85. Wood resigned Bradwell in 1555, but in January 1559 he became rector of Harlington, Middlesex: loc.cit.; New., i, p.632. In 1559 and 1560 he was deprived of Harlington, High Ongar and his prebend of Canterbury: loc.cit., New., ii, p.453; Le Neve, loc.cit.. If the identification of the vicar of South-Weld with the prebendary of Westminster and Canterbury and the rector of High Ongar and Bradwell is correct, it is unlikely that he is also to be identified with the Thomas Wood who held the vicarage of Twickenham for a few months in 1562 and was vicar of All Saints', Isleworth from 1562 until his death in 1566: New., i, pp.758, 675.



patronage. Two of the most notable pluralists in this period were Bonner's chaplain, John Morren, and Thomas Darbyshire. At the end of 1558 Morren was holding four rectories, a vicarage and the prebend of Wildland, all of which Bonner had appointed him.<sup>96</sup> Darbyshire had received from Bonner the archdeaconry of Essex, two rectories and the prebend of Tottenhall.<sup>97</sup> Bonner granted no more than a prebend and a rectory to John Feckenham but while holding these he was Dean of St. Paul's, and incumbent of another

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96. Bonner appointed John Morren to the rectory of Bishop's Wickham in 1554, to rectories of St. Martin's, Ludgate and Copford and to the vicarage of Asheldam in 1558. Morren was deprived of St. Martin's, Copford and Asheldam, and probably of Wickham, in 1559 and 1560: Reg. Bon., f.454v., New., ii, p.658, Reg. Bon., f.475v., Reg. Grin., f.113v. (Hen., p.293); Reg. Bon., f.478, Reg. Grin., f.113v. (New., ii, p.192); Reg. Bon., f.478, Reg. Grin., f.114 (New., ii, p.114). Bonner probably appointed him to the prebend of Wildland in July 1558, where he remained until December 1560: Reg. Grin., f.117. For the reasons for assigning the prebend of Wildland only and not the prebends of Wildland and Ealdland to Morren, see Mullins, op.cit., p.295. In 1560 Morren was deprived of the rectory of Orsett: Reg. Grin., f.116 (New., ii, p.454). Orsett like Wickham was a manor belonging to the bishopric of London, and it is possible that Bonner appointed Morren to this benefice also: see above, chap.10, p.300: Morren was Bonner's secretary, and may also have been his chaplain: biography in D.N.B.; Foster, op.cit., p.1040, J.A.Muller, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction, 1926, p.391.

97. See above, note 22.

rectory.<sup>98</sup> Edmund Brygotte<sup>99</sup> was instituted to the prebend of Portpool in 1554 when he held not only the rectory of Thorley from Bonner, but two other rectories as well. Hugh Weston, until his deprivation by Cardinal Pole in 1558 for gross immorality, was archdeacon of Colchester and rector of St. Boltolph's, Bishopsgate. As well as these benefices, however, Weston held the deanery of Windsor and livings outside the diocese of London.<sup>100</sup> Chedsey, canon and archdeacon also held livings outside London,<sup>101</sup> as did

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98. Bonner appointed John Feckenham to the prebend of Kentish Town and to the rectory of St. Mary's Finchley in 1554. Feckenham was dean of St. Paul's from 1554 until 1556, held the rectory of Great Greenford from 1554 to 1556, and resigning his secular preferments, became abbot of the re-established monastery of St. Peter's Westminster in 1556: Reg. Bon., ff.448v., 468v. (New., i, p.171); Reg. Bon., ff. 453, 458v. (New., i, p.605); Hen., p.5; Reg. Bon., ff.457, 469 (New., i, p.615); Hen., p.XV. He may have been one of Bonner's chaplains: Foster, op.cit., p.489, biography in D.N.B.

99. See above, note 19.

100. New., i, p.91, Reg. Bon., f.477, for Weston's institution to the archdeaconry of Colchester, in 1554, see Court of First Fruits and Tenths, Plea Rolls, <sup>p.ka1</sup> E.337/1/43, Reg. Bon., f.316v., and Mullins, op.cit., pp.414-419; Reg. Bon., ff.147v., 479 (New., i, p.313). Weston was archdeacon of Cornwall from 1547 until 1554, dean of Westminster from 1554 until 1556 and dean of Windsor from 1556 until 1557: Le Neve, i, p.399, iii, p.374. Weston was a distinguished theologian, taking his doctorate of divinity in 1540 and holding the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity at Oxford from 1540 until 1548. He was rector of Lincoln College, Oxford from 1538 until 1555. For his deprivation in 1557, his death in December 1558 and his preferments outside London: see his biography in D.N.B.

101. See above, note 72.

Cosen, canon and treasurer of St. Paul's.<sup>102</sup> Similarly, although Bonner granted only a prebend and a rectory to Nicholas Harpsfield,<sup>103</sup> and Pendilton<sup>104</sup>, at the time of their appointment both of these men were holding benefices outside the diocese. John Harpsfield, arch-deacon of London from 1554, held also a prebend in St. Paul's and a rectory. To this combination of benefices he added the deanery

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102. Bonner appointed Robert Cosen prebend of Holborn in 1545. He exchanged this for Mora in 1554, remaining there until his deprivation before 8 November 1559. Bonner appointed him treasurer of St. Paul's in October 1558, where he remained until the following year: Reg. Bon., ff.452v., New., ii, pp.158, 181; Reg. Bon., f.477 (Hen., p.12). From 1545 until 1549 Cosen also held St. Lawrence Jewry where he was appointed by Balliol College, the rectories of Beckenham, Kent, from 1547 and of Crick, Northamptonshire from 1548 and of Great Greenford from 1558, and the vicarage of Frampton, Dorset from 1559: New., i, p.266, Foster, op.cit., p.332, Reg. Bon., f.479.
103. On 27 April 1554 Bonner instituted Nicholas Harpsfield to the prebend of Harlesden and to the rectory of Laingdon with Basildon: Reg. Bon., ff.450v., 451 (New., i, pp.153-154, ii, p.356). Harpsfield also held the archdeaconry of Canterbury from March 1554 and a prebend in Canterbury from 1558 to 1559. He was dean of the Arches, and dean of the Peculiars during Mary's reign. He was rector of Week, Hampshire from 1543 and rector of Saltwood-cum-Hythe from 1555: Le Neve, i, p.43; Hen., p.XXXII, Foster: op.cit., p.652.
104. Bonner granted Henry Pendilton the prebend of Reculverland in 1554, where he remained until his death before 10 February 1559-1560. The bishop also granted Pendilton the rectory of St. Martin Outwich in 1555: Reg. Bon., ff.450, 474 (New., i, p.204); New., i, p.420. Pendilton was instituted rector of St. Stephen Walbrook, in the patronage of Richard Grafton and Ralph Greneway of the Grocers' Company on 1 April 1556: Reg. Bon., f.466 (New., i, p.540). He was a canon of Lichfield from 1554 until 1557, and rector of Toddenham, Gloucestershire, a living in Bonner's patronage from 1554: Le Neve, i, p.632; see above, note 3.

of Norwich in 1558.<sup>105</sup> John Standish,<sup>106</sup> after his appointment to the archdeaconry of Colchester in 1558 held the same combination of benefices in London as Harpsfield, for he also had a prebend and a rectory. Two whose pluralism was not so extreme were Messenger<sup>107</sup> and Moreton.<sup>108</sup> To each of these men Bonner granted

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105. John Harpsfield was given five livings by Bonner, but at no time did he hold more than three livings at once in the diocese of London. He was appointed archdeacon of London in 1554, which he held until he was deprived in 1559: Reg. Bon., ff.450v., 483, (New., i, p.63). He was prebend of Holborn from 1554 until the end of 1558 when he exchanged Holborn for Mapesbury where he remained until he was deprived before 10 February 1559-1560: Reg. Bon., f.452v., Mullins, op.cit., p.295; Reg. Bon., f.478v., Reg. Grin., f.112v. (Hen., p.36), Bonner appointed him rector of St. Martin's Ludgate in 1554, but he exchanged this for Laingdon with Basildon in May 1558, where he remained until he was deprived sometime during the following year: Reg. Bon., ff.451, 475v. (New., i, p.415); Reg. Bon., f.475v., New., ii, p.356. Harpsfield had been vicar of Berkeley, Gloucestershire from 1550, and a canon of Chichester from 1551. He was presented to the Deanery of Norwich on 16 May 1558 and installed a month later: Foster, op.cit., p.652; Le Neve, ii, p.476. He is said to have been one of Bonner's chaplains: Foster, loc.cit., New., i, p.63.
106. See above, note 24.
107. Bonner appointed William Messenger prebend of Consumpta-per-Mare on 22 October 1557 and rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, in January 1554-1555. Messenger was deprived of both benefices in Elizabeth's reign: Reg. Bon., f.372v. (Hen., p.24); Mullins, <sup>op.cit.</sup> app. 183n., 295; Reg. Bon., f.459v., Hen., p.319.
108. Bonner appointed Thomas Moreton prebend of Brondesbury on 9 August 1555: Reg. Bon., f.464 (Hen., p.14). On Bonner's appointment, Moreton became rector of Fulham in 1554. For some reason he was instituted to Fulham twice: on 29 April 1554 and again on the following 23 September: Reg. Bon., ff. 451 and note, 457. (Hennessey gave the date as 30 April and Newcourt as 23 September: Hen., p.160, New., i, p.608). Moreton resigned his prebend before 22 July 1558 and died before 24 September following, when his will was proved: Reg. Bon., f.476 (Men., p.14); Hen., p.XXIV.

a prebend and a rectory, but neither seems to have held benefices in other dioceses. Thomas Cheetham,<sup>109</sup> and Robert Willanton<sup>110</sup> were granted the prebend of St. Pancras with the office of penitentiary in St. Paul's in 1553 and 1558 respectively. It was not unusual for these benefices to be combined. Willanton also received four other benefices from Bonner. Whereas between 1539 and 1549 Bonner gave only one of his nominees two vicarages, in the second half of his episcopate eight of the clergy appointed by him, Aglioby,<sup>111</sup> Baker,<sup>112</sup> John Kingston,<sup>113</sup> Leedes,<sup>114</sup> Ryley,<sup>115</sup>

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109. Reg. Bon., f.448, New., i, p.196. Cheetham, Bishop of Sidon, was suffragan to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Bishop of London from 1535 until 1553 and again in 1558 until his death before 6 October 1558. He was also rector of Wrotham, Kent: Reg. Bon., f.477 (New., i, p.90), Hen., p.XII. He twice consecrated priests for Bonner under letters dimissory in 1543: Reg. Bon., f.173.
110. See above, notes 34, 44 (viii).
111. Henry Aglionbye was rector of St. Catherine Coleman on Bonner's appointment from 1557 until his death before May 1558 and rector of St. James' Garlickhithe for two months from March 1558: Reg. Bon., ff.470, 475 (New., i, p.379); Reg. Bon., ff.474v., 476v. (Hen., p.248).
112. In 1554 Bonner appointed John Baker to the rectory of Broxbourne, and to the vicarage of Bromefield: Reg. Bon., f.454 (New., i, p.812); Reg. Bon., f.456 (New., ii, p.96).
113. See above, note 49(iii). A John Kingston was rector of East Thorpe, Essex from 1528 until 1558: New., ii, p.239, Reg. Bon., f.477.
114. See above, note 51(v).
115. Bonner appointed Edward Ryley to the vicarage of Wakering-Magna in October 1555. Ryley resigned the vicarage in 1556 when the bishop appointed him to the rectory of St. Andrew's Undershaft. He retained St. Andrew's when in December 1558 Bonner appointed him to St. James' Garlickhithe: Reg. Bon., ff.464, 467 (New., ii, p.620), Reg. Bon., f.466v. (New., i, p.268); Reg. Bon., f.478v. (New., i, p.367). Ryley resigned St. James' Garlickhithe before 28 March 1560, but in its place he held by 1561 a

Stephens<sup>116</sup> and Richard Turner<sup>117</sup> received either two rectories, two vicarages or a rectory and a vicarage from the bishop.

As well as these twenty-one pluralists, thirty-one of Bonner's nominees during Mary's reign were either holding benefices from another patron at the time of their appointment by Bonner, or benefitted from such patronage while retaining the livings to which the bishop had preferred them. Seven of these men, Brabant,<sup>118</sup>

Arthur Cole,<sup>119</sup> Marshall,<sup>120</sup> Scott,<sup>121</sup> Steepes,<sup>122</sup>  
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115 cont. a benefice in Devon and a canonry at Exeter: Reg. Grin, f.114, and the report on the archdeaconry of London, 1561, printed in Mullins, op.cit., p.276.

116. Bonner appointed Edward Stephens to the vicarage of Halstead in October 1557 and to the vicarage of Dunmow Magna in April 1559: New., ii, p.299; Reg. Bon., f.481v. (New., iii, p.225). He died before 11 February 1560-1561: Grin Reg., f.119.

117. See above, note 43(ii).

118. See above, note 49(i). On his appointment to the prebend of Oxgate in 1555, Brabant was rector of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, and perhaps also of Wolverton in Hampshire: Reg. Bon., f.464v., (Hen., p.42); Hen., p.277; Mullins, op.cit., p.320.

119. See above, note 70. When Arthur Cole was appointed prebend of Twyford in 1554, he was a canon of Windsor, rector of Oddington, Gloucestershire and rector of Remenham, Berkshire: Reg. Bon., f.451 (Hen., p.52), see also Mullins, op.cit., p.295; Le.Neve, iii, p.393; Foster, op.cit., p.300.

120. See above, note 36.

121. See above, note 64. Scott was appointed prebend of Chamberlainwood in 1554, when he already held the rectories of Elton and Benford in Yorkshire and a canonry at York: Reg. Bon., f.450v. (New., i, pp.135-136); Venn, op.cit., iv, p.31.

122. Steepes held the vicarage of St. Leonard Shoreditch, to which he had been presented by John Wymmiskey in 1554, when Bonner appointed him prebend of Sneating in 1556. In 1558 Bonner presented him to the rectory of Sutton-under-Brailes in Warwickshire, at which time he may also have been rector of Hawstead in the diocese of Norwich: Reg. Bon., ff.451v., 467 (New., i, p.687); Reg. Bon., f.468 (Hen., p.49); Mullins, op.cit., p.420, see also, above, note 3. Steepes was deprived of his prebend before 20 December 1559: Reg. Grin., f.111.

Swaddle<sup>123</sup> and Weale<sup>124</sup> received prebends in the cathedral while holding other benefices. Henry Sydall<sup>125</sup> retained his canonry at Lichfield when in December 1557 Bonner appointed him vicar of Walthamstow. Another, Henry Hervie,<sup>126</sup> held the rectory of Littlebury when he became precentor in 1554, and John Watson<sup>127</sup> held rectories in Hertfordshire and Hampshire when he became chancellor of St. Paul's in 1558. On the day he was collated to the archdeaconry of St. Alban's, James Dugdale was instituted as

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123. See above, note 23.

124. Boner presented John Weale to the prebend of Chamberlainwood on 14 December 1558. At that time Weale held the two London rectories of All Hallows the Great and St. Mildred Poultry: Reg. Bon., f.478v. (New., i, p.136); New., i, p.249; Hen., p.285. He was still incumbent of all three benefices in 1561: report on the archdeaconry of London, 1561, quoted Mullins, op.cit., p.279.

125. Henry Sydall had held the prebend of Stotford in Lichfield from 1541. In 1547 he exchanged this prebend for that of Tewin in the same cathedral. Sydall was rector of Woodford from 5 July 1530 until he was deprived for marriage before 2 April 1555. On 14 December 1557 Bonner appointed him vicar of Walthamstow: Le.Neve, i, pp.627, 631; New., ii, p.680; Reg. Bon., f.462; Reg. Bon., f.473v. See also Foster, op.cit., p.356.

126. See above, note 66.

127. See above, note 55 (i,b). John Watson was appointed chancellor of St. Paul's by Bonner and instituted on 7 February 1557-1558. He remained chancellor until his promotion to the bishopric of Winchester in 1580. At the time of his preferment to the chancellorship he held the rectories of Kelshall in Hertfordshire and Winchfield in Hampshire: Reg. Bon., f.474 (New., i, p.114); Le Neve, iii, p.17; Foster, op.cit., p.1583.

rector of St. Albans.<sup>128</sup> One of Bonner's nominees, Lilley, retained his prebend in St. Paul's when he became a canon of Canterbury in 1558.<sup>129</sup> Eleven of Bonner's nominees, Campion,<sup>130</sup> Grening,<sup>131</sup>

Gybbes,<sup>132</sup> Harwood,<sup>133</sup> Holland,<sup>134</sup> -----

128. See above, note 55 (i,b). Dugdale was collated to the arch-deaconry of St. Albans on 26 February 1556-1557. He was deprived before 17 July 1560. He was instituted rector of St. Alban's through the patronage of the manor and burgesses of that town: Reg. Bon., f.470, Reg. Grin., f.116v. (New., i, p.95); Reg. Bon., f.470 (New., i, p.786).

129. See above, note 40.

130. Silvester Campion had been rector of Henney-Magna for a week when on 25 January 1556-1557 Bonner presented him to the rectory of Henney-Parva: Reg. Bon., f.469v. (New., ii, p.326); Reg. Bon., f.469v. (New., ii, p.328). See also Grieve, op.cit., p.166 n.2.

131. When Bonner appointed Christopher Grening to the rectory of Langenhø in August 1555, he was also rector of Coln Engain, which he had been given by Wolsey in 1524 and where he still was in 1559 when he signed the subscription lists: Reg. Bon., f.463v. (New., ii, p.364); New., ii, p.188; Gee, op.cit., p.105.

132. When Bonner instituted John Gybbes to the vicarage of Rickling on 13 May 1558 he had been vicar of Hendon for three months. He had been instituted to Uppingham in 1541 but had probably resigned before 1558. He may also have been vicar of Croydon. He died before 11 February 1558-1559: New., ii, p.494, ibid., i, p.644, L.P., XVI.1391(57), Foster, op.cit., p.561.

133. See above, note 47(iv). When Bonner appointed William Harwood vicar of East Ham on 8 November 1553, he was rector of West Horndon, which he held until sometime before 1591: Reg. Bon., f.448 (New., ii, p.302); Reg. Bon., f.139, New., ii, p.342. Harwood may perhaps also be identified with the William Harwood who was rector of St. Clement Danes from 1559 until his death sometime before 1589: Reg. Bon., f.483, New., i, p.592.

134. When Thomas Holland was instituted to the rectory of Bursted Parva on 12 November 1558, he had been incumbent of the vicarage of Bursted-Magna since 1554: Reg. Bon., f.477v. (New., ii, p.118); Reg. Bon., f.454v. (New., ii, p.116).



Mason,<sup>135</sup> Richardson,<sup>136</sup> Spendlove,<sup>137</sup> Stookes,<sup>138</sup> Thrope,<sup>139</sup> and Young<sup>140</sup> already held a vicarage or rectory when they were appointed to a living by Bonner. Allen,<sup>141</sup>

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135. See above, note 47(v). When Bonner appointed John Mason to the rectory of Ashdon in 1555, he had been rector of South Fambridge: Reg. Bon., f.462v. (New., ii, p.21); New., ii, p.254.
136. When Bonner nominated Adam Richardson to the rectory of Birch Magna in 1558, he was rector of Great Oakley and Chesterford-Parva: Reg. Bon., f.497, see above, note 4; New., ii, p.445; New., ii, p.134. See also Grieve, op.cit., pp.156, 166.
137. Although John Spendlove had been deprived of the prebend of Holywell and the rectories of St. Mary Finchley and Hackney in 1554, when Bonner appointed him to the rectory of St. Andrew Undershaft in 1555, he was still rector of Baddow-Parva which he had held since 1537 and where he remained until 1575: New., i, p.162; Reg. Bon., f.453 (New., i, p.605); Reg. Bon., f.452 (New., i, pp.618-619); Reg. Bon., f.463v. (New., i, p.268); New., ii, p.26. See also Mullins, op.cit., pp.412-413.
138. Bonner appointed Robert Stookes rector of Woodford on 2 April 1555, where he remained until his resignation before 26 August 1558. He had been vicar of Hackney from 10 August 1549: New., ii, p.680, Reg. Bon., f.462; ibid., f.246 (Hen., p.178).
139. See above, note 40(viii). When John Thorpe was presented by Bonner to the rectory of St. Mary's Colchester, in 1551 he had held the vicarage of St. Peter's Colchester for ten years. He resigned St. Mary's, Colchester in 1556, when he was presented to the vicarage of Clacton Magna by Philip and Mary. He died before 31 August 1559: Reg. Bon., f.463 (New., ii, p.175); Reg. Bon., f.153 (New., ii, p.179); Reg. Bon., f.466v. (New., ii, p.153); Reg. Bon., f.482v. (New., ii, p.175).
140. See above, note 65. When Young was appointed by Bonner to the rectory of St. Margaret, New Fish Street, on 1 December 1554 he had not only received three other benefices in that year, but had also been rector of Alderton, Northamptonshire, since 1550: Reg. Bon., f.458v. (New., i, p.406); Venn, op.cit., iv, p.493.
141. Allen retained the vicarage of Rickling to which Bonner appointed him on 4 September 1554, when on 1 February 1554-1555 he became rector of Chickney: Reg. Bon., f.455v. (New., ii, p.494); Reg. Bon., f.460v. (New., ii, p.136).

Chamber,<sup>142</sup> Clatonne,<sup>143</sup> Dale,<sup>144</sup> Freeman,<sup>145</sup> Parkinson,<sup>146</sup> and

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142. Bohner presented Thomas Chamber to the vicarage of Horndon-super-Montem in November 1554. In the following July he received from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury the rectory of Holy Trinity the Less. In 1561 he had not only retained these two benefices but was also parson of Whitchurch in Hampshire, and curate for George Baker, rector of St. Martin, Ironmonger Lane. He received two other benefices in Elizabeth's reign: Reg. Bon., f.458 (New., ii, p.343); Reg. Bon., f.463 (Hen., p.250); the report on the archdeaconry of London quoted Mullins, op.cit., pp.271, 274. See also New., i, pp.448, 803; New., ii, p.363, Hen., p.314.
143. Bonner nominated Roger Clatonne to the vicarage of Maching on 27 February 1553-1554, which he held until 3 June 1557. Clatonne was instituted to the rectory of Roding Alba on the 3 June 1557 on the patronage of George Brown: Reg. Bon., f.448v., See above, note 4, see also New., ii, p.411; Reg. Bon., f.471 (New., ii, p.500).
144. It is possible that John Dale, Bonner's nominee in 1556 to the rectory of St. Margaret, New Fish Street is to be identified with the rector of Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire, and Wetheringsett, Suffolk, to both of which benefices a John Dale was instituted in 1557: Reg. Bon., f.466 (Hen., p.276); Venn, op.cit., ii, p.4.
145. See above, note 47 (ii). Bonner appointed John Freeman vicar of Redgewell on 17 May 1555 where he remained until his death before 16 July 1562. The vicar of Redgewell may be identified with the Freeman who held the rectory of Pelham Stocking from 1548 and who received the living of Blockley, Worcester-shire in 1559. Reg. Bon., f.462v., New., ii, p.490; Foster, op.cit., p.532.
146. See above, note 41. Bonner appointed John Parkinson to the rectory of St. Michael, Milend by Colchester on 9 April 1555, where he remained until he resigned sometime before 30 August 1560. It is possible that he is to be identified with the priest who held the rectory of Haveringham, Suffolk from 1556 until 1566: Reg. Bon., f.462, New., ii, p.420; Venn, op.cit., iii, p.311.

Walker<sup>147</sup> retained the livings to which they had been presented by Bonner when they received other benefices. Bonner appointed Richard Kingston<sup>148</sup> rector of Aldham on 9 August 1557. He was deprived of St. Anne and St. Agnes, Shoreditch before August 1560, and it is possible that after his institution to Aldham he held the two livings together.

Since eight of the pluralists of Mary's reign were men who had first received benefices from Bonner between 1539 and 1549, it is not possible to make an accurate comparison of the proportion of pluralists to the total number of nominees in each half of the episcopate. Of the one hundred and fifty clergymen to whom Bonner granted benefices between 1539 and 1559 twenty-eight were at one time holding two or more livings which were in the bishop's patronage. Another forty-three each held, as well as the benefices granted to them by the bishop, a second not granted by Bonner. Thus more than 46% of Bonner's nominees were pluralists at one time during their lives.

A number of Bonner's nominees had been monks or friars before the Dissolution. The bishop gave no sign that he disliked further-

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147. Peter Walker, whom Bonner appointed rector of Tay-Parva on 19 February 1556-1557 perhaps became rector of St. Leonard Colchester, the following July, rector of Fordham in July 1558, and rector of Chadwell in October 1559. He may also have been vicar of Tibbenham, Norfolk from 1557: Reg. Bon., f.470 (New., ii, p.574); Reg. Bon., f.47lv. (New., ii, p.173); New., ii, p.270; ibid., p.125. See also Foster, op.cit., p.1558.

148. See above, note 49(iii); Reg. Bon., f.472, Reg. Grin., f.116v., Reg. Grin., f.117 (New., i, p.278).

ing the careers as secular clergy of the ex-religious. A Cistercian abbot, Gabriel Dunne<sup>149</sup> surrendered the abbey of Buckfastleigh in 1539, two years before Bonner appointed him to the prebend of Mapesbury. Another eminent religious who received preferment from Bonner was John Byrd.<sup>150</sup> A Carmelite, he was provincial of his order from 1516 until 1519 and again from 1522 until 1525. He was a supporter of the Royal Supremacy, and in 1537 was consecrated suffragan to the Bishop of Llandaff. In 1539 he became Bishop of Bangor and in 1541 was translated to the newly created see of Chester. Deprived of his diocese because of marriage in 1554, almost immediately he was appointed vicar of Dunmow Magna by Bonner in November 1554. He may have acted as Bonner's suffragan during the next few years. Another two<sup>151</sup> suffragans, Thomas Cheetham<sup>152</sup> and John Hodgkins<sup>153</sup> had also been religious. An Augustinian canon, Cheetham had been at Leeds priory, in Kent. John Hodgkins was principal of the English Dominicans from 1527. Although he was

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149. See above, note 91. Hen., p. XXXVIII, Foster, op.cit., p.414.

150. See biography of Byrd in D.N.B., and also Foster, op.cit., p.127; Reg. Bon., f.458 (New., ii, p.225).

151. Besides Byrd, Cheetham and Hodgkins, another possible suffragan to the Bishop of London was William Moore, Bishop suffragan of Colchester, who died before 22 February 1540-1541: see Reg. Bon., ff.133v., 134, 134v., 183. One "Ludovicus", suffragan of the Bishop of Salisbury was consecrating priests in London in 1543, on the authority of the Bishop of London: Reg. Bon., ff.172, 173.

152. See above, note 109; Venn, op.cit., i,, p.328.

153. See above, note 21; Mullins, op.cit., p.356.

later deposed from this office, he was reinstated in 1536, a year before his consecration as Bishop of Bedford in 1537. Edmund Brygote<sup>154</sup> prebend of Portpool had been a Franciscan, as had Edward Ryley<sup>155</sup> appointed by Bonner to the rectory of St. Andrews Undershaft.

It is not possible to know how many of Bonner's nominees came from Worcestershire. But at least four were brought up in the county of Bonner's childhood, and it is perhaps possible that their appointment and advancement by Bonner owed something to this circumstance. Gilbert Bourn<sup>156</sup> and John Feckenham,<sup>157</sup> who both had distinguished ecclesiastical careers during Mary's reign, were Worcestershire men. They had probably both been chaplains to Bonner. Two other known Worcestershire men were Robert Stookes,<sup>158</sup> and John Watson.<sup>159</sup>

It was not unnatural that Bonner should wish to reward his

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154. See above, note 19; Mullins, op.cit., p.321.

155. See above, note 115; Foster, op.cit., p.1294. Other nominees who had been religious included John Bodking, Aristotle Webb, and John Young: Mullins, op.cit., p.318; Grieve, op.cit., p.155; Le Neve, i, p.355. Two others who may have been monks were Thomas Gale and John Kingston: Foster, op.cit., p.543; Venn, op.cit., iii, p.22.

156. See above, note 20; Hen., p.XXV; Foster, op.cit., p.156.

157. See above, note 98; biography of Feckenham in D.N.B.

158. See above, note 138; Venn, op.cit., iv, p.167.

159. See above, note 127; Hen., p.XXIII.

chaplains with benefices in his diocese. As well as Bourne and Feckenham, John Harpsfield,<sup>160</sup> Robert Willanton,<sup>161</sup> John Morren<sup>162</sup> and Henry Pendilton<sup>163</sup> were also chaplains to Bonner at some time during his episcopate. During Mary's reign William Chedsey<sup>164</sup> acted for Bonner as a commissioner to inquire into heresy. He has been described as one of Bonner's chaplains. Thomas Collyer,<sup>165</sup> prebendary first of Brondesbury and later of Holywell, may also have been closely associated with the bishop.

Of the fifty-four clergy to whom Bonner granted benefices between 1539 and 1549 twelve<sup>166</sup> died before 1553. Another seven<sup>167</sup>

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160. See above, note 105;

161. See above, note 34.

162. See above, note 96.

163. See above, note 104; biography of Pendilton in D.N.B.

164. See above, note 72; biography of Chedsey in D.N.B.

165. Reg. Bon., f.476 (Hen., p.14); Reg. Bon., f.477v. (Hen., p.31), see also Mullins, op.cit., pp.293, 295; Frere, op.cit., p.257.

166. Baldwyer: see above, notes 45(1), 86; Buckmaster; see above, note 68; Combes: see above, p.377, note 8; W.Darbyshire: see above, note 39; Nicholas Harwar was presented to the vicarage of Boxted in Essex on 22 June 1543 and remained there until his death before May 1548: Reg. Bon., ff.144v., 161v. (New., ii, p.79); Higden: see above, note 80; Thomas Kyrkeham was presented to the rectory of St. Mary's Colchester on 11 February 1539-1540. He died before January 1551-1552: Reg. Bon., ff.130v., 313v. (New., ii, p.175); Layton: see above, note 11; Longe: see above, note 45(11); Mason: see above note 47(v); Sudbury: see above, note 82, Sudbury died before 12 February 1545-1546: Reg. Bon., f.155 (see also New., ii, p.302); Woodward: see above, note 83.

167. See above, note 2 (1 - vii.)

either did not survive into Mary's reign, or if so left no trace in the diocese of London. The later career of James Cliff is also obscure. Sometime before 1549 he resigned the vicarage of Broxbourne to which Bonner had preferred him in 1545. Before April 1555 he had resigned the rectory of Ilford Parva. The reasons for this resignation are unknown, and after 1555 no trace of Cliff has been found in the diocese.<sup>168</sup> By 1549 Gilbert Bourn,<sup>169</sup> Christopher Hill<sup>170</sup> and Thomas Washington<sup>171</sup> had also resigned the benefices to which Bonner had presented them, but they survived the changes of 1553 and 1554 in other benefices in the diocese, or in the case of Bourn promoted to a bishopric. Of the remaining thirty clergy advanced by Bonner between 1539 and 1549, seven survived these changes, but died during Mary's reign,<sup>172</sup> or very early in Elizabeth's reign.<sup>173</sup> Henry Cole survived until 1559,

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168. Reg. Bon., ff.152, 165v. (New., i, p.812); Reg. Bon., f.462.

169. See above, note 20.

170. See above, note 88.

171. Bonner appointed Thomas Washington to the vicarage of St.Mary-le-Strand on 31 January 1539-1540. He resigned before 1 January.1542-1543. He reappeared in the diocese as rector of Widihale from 1556 until 1559: Reg. Bon., ff.130-130v., 242v., (Hen., p.314); Reg. Bon., ff.468, 482v. (New., i, p.911).

172. Three of the clergy promoted by Bonner between 1539 and 1549 died during Mary's reign: Gale: see above, note 92; Ibrye: see above, notes 61, 94; John Sargeon, vicar of Bromefield from 25 March 1541, died before 10 September 1554: Reg. Bon., ff.145, 456 (New., ii, p.96).

173. Four died early in Elizabeth's reign: Burton: see above, note 90; W.Clyff: see above, note 85; Dunne: see above, note 91; Peter Gryffith, appointed to the rectory of Wileby by Bonner on 1 April 1549, died before 11 December 1558. Newcourt was wrong in giving the year of his death as 1559: Reg. Bon., ff.165v., 478v., New., ii, p.666.

but was then deprived.<sup>174</sup> Lancelot Lambourne resigned before 1561.<sup>175</sup> One long-lived and adaptable priest was John Horderon. Bonner appointed him rector of Fairstead where he was instituted on 20 December 1546 and where he remained until his death sometime before February 1567.<sup>176</sup>

Ten<sup>177</sup> of the clergy beneficed between 1539 and 1549 not only survived the changes at the beginning of Mary's reign, but received further preferment from Bonner between 1553 and 1559. The later careers of all except John Standish can best be considered in the analysis of the lives of the other ninety-six clergy who were appointed to benefices by Bonner during the second half of his episcopate.

Of Bonner's nominees between 1539 and 1549, there were twelve whose history during Mary's reign is of particular interest. Their careers show that in the first half of his episcopate Bonner's choice of clergy was not wholly confined either to the theologically

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174. See above, note 71.

175. Bonner appointed Lambourne vicar of Takeley on 1 August 1545. He resigned before 9 December 1561: Reg. Bon., f.152, New., ii, p.569.

176. Reg. Bon., f.157v., New., ii, p.249.

177. Brygotte: see above, note 19; Chadsey: see above, note 72; Cosen: see above, note 102; Thomas Darbyshire: see above, note 22; Mowle: see above, notes 16, 50, 77; Standish: see above, note 24; Richard Turner: see above, note 43(ii); John Wymisley: see above, notes 17, 78; Willanton: see above, notes 34, 44(viii); Weston: see above, note 100.



conservative, or to the dedicated celibates.

John Crook<sup>178</sup> who had resigned his prebend in 1547 was replaced as vicar-general of the diocese in 1553. He may have been deprived or he may have resigned this office. It is possible either that his views were no longer acceptable to the bishop, or that he had married. Five more of the clergy preferred during the first half of the episcopate resigned the benefices Bonner had given them between 1553 and 1559. Of these five, it is unlikely that either Vaughan<sup>179</sup> or Wood<sup>180</sup> resigned their benefices because of differences with the Marian regime. The resignations of Atherton, May and Finch however, may well have been forced upon them. Bonner had appointed William May prebend of Chamberlainwood on 1 November 1545, three months before his election as Dean of St. Paul's. He was deprived of the deanery and of the rectory of Littlebury in the early months of 1554, and resigned the prebend before 26 April. Although he was instituted to the rectory of Pulham in Norfolk in 1557 and perhaps to the rectory of Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire in

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178. See above, note 15.

179. No reason is now known for the resignation of Hugh Vaughan from the vicarage of Coggeshall before 6 May 1558. It is probable that he survived into Elizabeth's reign, dying sometime before July 1564: see above, notes 45(iii), 89; New., ii, p.160; ibid., p.443.

180. Thomas Wood, vicar of South-Weld with Brentford resigned in 1558. He was probably deprived of three other benefices in the first years of Elizabeth's reign: see above, notes, 43 (iii), 95.

the same year, this eminent Reformer is not known to have held any other benefice in the diocese of London during Mary's reign.<sup>181</sup> Thus the views of at least one of Bonner's nominees were found, in the testing times of 1554, to be incompatible with preferment in the diocese of London. Religious scruple or episcopal pressure may also have occasioned the "free" resignation of John Atherton. Bonner had appointed him to the vicarage of Hatfield-Regis on 25 September 1548, but he resigned before March 1553-1554. No record has been found that Atherton received any benefices during Mary's reign, but in 1562 he was rector of Rotting Leaden, and of Thorley in Essex, and prebendary of Consumpta-per-Mare.<sup>182</sup> In 1553 Richard Finch resigned the rectory of East Ham, where he had been presented by Bonner. Like Atherton he is not known to have received any preferment during Mary's reign, but in 1560 he became vicar of Croydon in Surrey.<sup>183</sup>

Six of the men appointed by Bonner between 1539 and 1549 were deprived by him in Mary's reign. Thomas Banester, Thomas Fitch, John Shereman, John Standish and Thomas Sykes were deprived because

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181. See above, notes 67, 86. See also Venn, op.cit., iii, p.167.

182. Reg. Bon., ff.163, 449 (New., ii, p.316); New., ii, pp.507, 898; New., i, p.143. Atherton may also have been rector of Bawdrip in Somerset: Hen., p.XXX.

183. Reg. Bon., ff.155, 448 (New., ii, p.302); Foster, op.cit., p.497.

they had married, and it is probable that marriage was also the reason for Hodgkins' deprivation before April 1554. Two of the six, Fitch,<sup>184</sup> and Sykes<sup>185</sup> do not appear to have received any other preferment in the diocese of London. Four, however, repented, put away their wives and were reconciled. Thomas Banester had been appointed by Bonner to the rectory of Broxbourne in April 1549. He was deprived at some date before 18 July 1554. He was reconciled and on 7 May 1556 he became rector of Stamford-le-Hope, through the patronage of John Osborne, citizen of London.<sup>186</sup> Appointed by Bonner to the rectory of Laingdon in 1544, Hodgkins was deprived of this living and of the prebend of Harlesden in April 1554. A year later, however, he became rector of St. Peter, Cornhill through the patronage of the Mayor and Aldermen of London.<sup>187</sup> Another reconciliation occurred in the case of John Shereman, alias Hunter. After his deprivation of the vicarage of Bentley-Magna he became vicar of Bulwer, an advowson held by one Thomas Daniel.<sup>188</sup>

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184. Bonner appointed Fitch vicar of Boxted, Essex, on 4 May 1546. He was deprived before 23 March 1554: Reg. Bon., ff.161v., 461v., (New., ii, p.79).

185. Bonner appointed Sykes, late canon of Royston, to the vicarage of Rickling on 3 December, 1546. He was deprived before 4 September 1554: Grieve, op.cit., p.151, note 2; Reg. Bon., ff.157v., 455v. (see also New., ii, p.494).

186. Reg. Bon., ff.165v., 454 (New., i, p.812); Reg. Bon., ff.466, 469 (New., ii, p.548).

187. See above, note 21.

188. Shereman, late canon of St. Osyth, was described as alias Hunter at his institution to the vicarage of Bentley Magna on Bonner's appointment on 23 July 1541: Reg. Bon., f.136v., He was deprived for marriage before 13 December 1557: Reg. Bon., f.473 (New., ii, p.50). He became vicar of Bulmer on 24 October 1556: Reg. Bon., f.468 (New., ii, p.106). See Grieve, op.cit., p.151, note 2.

John Standish was the most remarkable of the six men Bonner had appointed between 1539 and 1549, but whom he deprived in the second half of his episcopate. Bonner had appointed Standish to the rectory of St. Andrew Undershaft on 3 December 1543. From Ridley he received the archdeaconry of Colchester. In 1554 he was deprived of his archdeaconry and rectory, and of the rectories of Wigan and Northall. Quickly reconciled, Standish was appointed by the bishop himself to the rectory of Packlesham, where he was instituted on 19 November 1554. On 21 October 1557 Bonner presented him to the prebend of Ealdland and on 15 October 1558 restored him to his archdeaconry. Standish is the only priest who received a benefice from Bonner in the first half of the episcopate, was deprived for marriage, but received further preferment from the bishop during the second half of the episcopate.<sup>189</sup>

Not only as diocesan did Bonner acquiesce in the reconciliation and reappointment of clergy deprived for marriage. At least ten of the clergy whom he appointed between 1554 and 1559 had been deprived of other benefices at the beginning of the reign. Although Bonner had not given any of these men the benefices of which they were deprived in 1554 and 1555, six of the ten had been deprived of benefices held in the diocese of London. Bonner, in his office as diocesan deprived Robert Bracher of the vicarage of Aveley before  
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 189. See above, note 24.

24 May 1555, but in less than a year he had preferred him to the vicarage of Barling.<sup>190</sup> Silvester Campion, deprived of the rectory of Mistley because he had married in Edward's reign,<sup>191</sup> received the rectory of Henney-Parva from Bonner in January 1556-1557. John Radcliffe, who was deprived of the rectory of Layer Marney before 5 September 1554, received the vicarage of Sawbridgeworth on 13 December 1555.<sup>192</sup> Adam Richardson, deprived of the rectory of Panfield before January 1555, was nominated by Bonner to the rectory of Birch Magna in October 1558.<sup>193</sup> John Spendlove was deprived of three benefices, the prebend of Holywell and the rectories of St. Mary's Finchley and Hackney, but in July 1555 Bonner gave him the rectory of St. Andrew Undershaft.<sup>194</sup> Finally, Bonner deprived Henry Sydall of the rectory of Woodford before April 1555, but in December 1557 appointed him vicar of Walthamstow.<sup>195</sup>

At least four priests who received preferment from Bonner between 1553 and 1559 are known to have been deprived of benefices in other dioceses because of marriage. John Byrd<sup>196</sup> was deprived

190. See above, note 51(ii). Bracher held the vicarage of Aveley from 7 January 1551-1552. He was instituted to the vicarage of Barling on 28 March 1556: Reg. Bon., ff.313-313v., 462v., 465v.

191. Campion was deprived of Mistley before 25 January 1554-1555; Reg. Bon., f.460 (see also New., ii, p.421); see above, note 131 and also Grieve, op.cit., i, 166, note 2.

192. See above, note 48(ix); Reg. Bon., ff.455v., 464v. Radcliffe remained at Sawbridgeworth until his death before 20 September 1560: New., i, p.881.

193. See above, notes 4, 136; Grieve, op.cit., p.156; Reg. Bon. f.477.

194. See above, note 137.

195. See above, note 125.

196. See above, p.391, and note 150.

of the bishopric of Chester, John Lepington<sup>197</sup> and Oliver Stoning<sup>198</sup> of prebends in Chester and Lichfield and Aristotle Webb<sup>199</sup> of a rectory in Hampshire. It is probable that among the ninety-six clergy whom Bonner appointed between 1553 and 1559 there were others who had been married, deprived and reconciled before their appointment in the diocese of London.

There is no consistent pattern in the history of Bonner's nominees in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Of the ninety-six clergy whom Bonner appointed in Mary's reign, ten<sup>200</sup> were deprived

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197. John Lepington, prebendary of Chester from March 1544 until he was deprived before 2 April 1554, was nominated by Bonner to the rectory of Birch Magna on 18 March 1554-1555, and remained there until his death before August 1557: Le Neve, iii, p.269; Reg. Bon., ff.46lv., 472 (New., ii, p.59).
198. Stoning was prebend of Lichfield from October 1546 until 1554. Bonner appointed him to the rectory of St. Mary's Ealing on 1 February 1556-1557. He died before 26 February 1562-1563: Le Neve, i, p.625; Reg. Bon., f.469v., New., i, p.764.
199. Webb was deprived for marriage of the rectory of Ewhurst in the diocese of Winchester. Bonner appointed him to the vicarage of Brightinsea on 1 July 1555, where he remained until his death before 4 January 1559-1560: Grieve, op.cit., p.155; Reg. Bon., f.463, Reg. Grin., f.111 (New., ii, p.95).
200. Thomas Bracher: see above, note 33; Dugdale: see above, notes 55 (i a), 128. John Harpsfield: see above, note 105; Richard Kingston: see above, note 49 (iii), p.390 and note 148; Marshall see above, p.363, and note 36; Messenger: see above, note 107; Morren: see above, note 96. Bonner appointed George Ottway vicar of Southweld on 15 February 1558-1559. He was deprived before 29 July 1560: Reg. Bon., f.480v., Reg. Grin., f.116v. (New., ii, pp.645-646); Steepes, see above, note 122; Swaddle: see above, note 23.

in 1559 or 1560. Another eight<sup>201</sup> were either deprived or resigned to make way for the restoration of their predecessors. Four<sup>202</sup> of the ten men to whom Bonner gave benefices in both halves of his episcopate were deprived in 1559 or 1560. Another three, John Feckenham,<sup>203</sup> Cuthbert Scott<sup>204</sup> and John Young<sup>205</sup> had resigned the

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201. (i) John Bocking vacated the rectory of St. Alphage, which he had held since 8 June 1554, before 6 July 1561: Reg. Bon., f. 453, New., i, p.261, Mullins, op.cit., pp.294, 318. (ii) Thomas Collyer: see above, p.393, note 165. Collyer was prebendary of Holywell on 23 July 1559, but had vacated the canonry by 1560: Mullins, op.cit., pp.295, 293; (iii) John Collis, rector of St. Clement Eastcheap on Bonner's patronage from 26 April 1555, vacated the benefice sometime between 1558 and 1564: Reg. Bon., f.462, Mullins, op.cit., p.294; (iv) John Cryse: see above, note 47(i). Cryse vacated the rectory of Stanway Magna, probably about 1560, when Edmund Beane, instituted to the benefice on 21 March 1542, and probably deprived in 1554 was restored: New., ii, p.554. (v) John Dale: see above, note 144. Dale was removed from St. Margaret, New Fish Street, sometime between 1558 and 1564: Mullins, op.cit., p.294, see above, note 103. Harpsfield resigned the rectory of Laingdon before 14 May 1558. He was prebendary of Harlesden on 23 July 1559, but vacated the benefice sometime in 1559 or 1560. He was deprived of his other benefices, such as the archdeaconry of Canterbury in 1559, and imprisoned under Elizabeth: Reg. Bon., f.475v., (New., ii, p.356), Frere, ed., op.cit., p.46; New., i, pp.153-154, Hen., p. XXXII. (vi) Harwood: see above, note 133. Harwood vacated the vicarage of East Ham before 18 February 1559-1560: New., ii, p.302. (vii) Thomas Wells, vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields from 10 September 1554 was displaced when his predecessor was restored: Reg. Boh., f.456, New., i, p.692.
202. Chedsey, see above, note 72; Cosen, see above, note 102; Thomas Darbyshire: see above, note 22; Willanton: see above, note 34.
203. See above, note 98.
204. See above, note 64.
205. See above, note 65.

benefices Bonner had given them before the end of his episcopate, but were deprived in 1559 and 1560 of the benefices to which they had moved. Of the one hundred and six clergy who received benefices from Bonner between 1553 and 1559 the proportion of deprivation in 1559 and 1560 was about 23%.

It is possible that this percentage would have been greater if more of the one hundred and six clergy beneficed between 1553 and 1559 had survived until 1560. But twenty-two<sup>206</sup> of these priests

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206. (i) Aglionby: see above, note 111. (ii) Thomas Batemanson, appointed vicar of St. Mary Abbot's, Kensington by Bonner and instituted on 13 January 1556-1557, died before 19 November 1558: Reg. Bon., ff.469b., 477v. (Neither Newcourt or Hennessey give the correct date for Batemanson's institution: New., i, p.680, Hen., p.256). (iii) Geoffrey Bayley was appointed to the rectory of St. Matthew Friday Street on 29 September 1555. He died in 1558 or 1559: Hen., p.435. (iv) Byrd: see above, note 150. The exact date of Byrd's death is unknown, but it was before 15 April 1559 and probably in 1558: Reg. Bon., f.481v., biography of Byrd in D.N.B. (v) Cheetham: see above, note 109. (vi) A.Cole: see above, note 70. (vii) Peter Cotton alias Wylks, appointed vicar of Boreham, Essex by Bonner on 25 September 1555, died before 20 April 1556: Reg. Bon., ff.464, 466 (New., ii, p.75). (viii) Cowper was appointed rector of Hanwell on 10 December 1556. He died before 19 November 1558: Reg. Bon., f.469, New., i, p.627. (ix) Dyconson: see above, note 49(ii). (x) John Francis was appointed rector of St. Mary's Colchester on 13 May 1556, but he remained there only a few months, dying before the following 24 December: Reg. Bon., ff.466v., 469 (New., ii, p.175). (xi) John Kingston: see above, note 49 (iii). (xii) John Lepington: see above, note 197. (xiii) Lilley: see above, note 40. (xiv) Moreton: see above, note 108. (xv) James Noble, whom Bonner appointed to the vicarage of Aveley, Essex on 24 May 1555 died before 16 April 1557: Reg. Bon., ff.461, 464 (New., ii, p.23), (xvi) Pendilton: see above, note 104. (xvii) John Smyth, whom Bonner appointed vicar of Wakering-Magna on 14 March 1554-1555, died before 3 October following: Reg. Bon., ff.461, 464 (New., ii, p.620). (xviii) Tyffyn: see above, note 46 (xviii). Bonner appointed Robert Tyffyn rector of St. James' Garlickhithe on 29 July 1558. He died before 10 December following: Reg. Bon., ff.467v., 478v. (Hen., p.248). As well as these eighteen clerics, four to whom Bonner gave



died before the autumn of 1559. Another, Peter Langrish<sup>207</sup> was deprived in March 1557-1558, probably for immorality. A resolute opponent of the Elizabethan settlement, had he remained in his benefice, he might well have been deprived for refusing the oath of obedience to Elizabeth. As well as these deaths and Langrish's deprivation, ten<sup>208</sup> more of Bonner's nominees died before the middle of 1563 and another, James Thorpe,<sup>209</sup> who had resigned the benefice to which Bonner had presented him in 1556, also died in the early years of Elizabeth's reign.

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206 continued. benefices in both halves of his episcopate, died before the end of 1558: (i) Mowle, see above, notes 16, 50, 77. (ii) Richard Turner: see above, note 43(ii); (iii) John Wymmisley: see above, note 78. (iv) Weston: see above, note 100.

207. Bonner appointed Peter Langrish rector of St. James' Garlickhithe on 16 September 1554. He was deprived on 4 March 1557-1558: Reg. Bon., f.456v., 474v. (Hen., p.248); Mullins, op. cit., pp.378-379.

208. (i) Brygotte: see above, note 19, (ii) James Clyve was appointed vicar of Northall on 8 December 1554 by Bonner. He had formerly held the rectory of Stoke Newington and the vicarage of Ilford. He died before 23 December 1561: Reg. Bon., f.459 (New., i, p.703); Hen., p.420; New., ii, p.346; New., i, p.703. (iii) Freeman: see above, note 145. (iv) Henry Fynch whom Bonner appointed to the vicarage of Rickmansworth on 6 May 1559 died before 15 March 1562-1563: Reg. Bon., f.482, Reg. Grin., f.129v. (New., i, p.863). (v) Gybbes: see above note 132. (vi) Radcliffe: see above, notes 48(ix), 192. (vii) Stephens: see above, note 116. (viii) Stoning: see above, note 198. (ix) Thomas Tye, whom Bonner appointed vicar of Bentley-Magna on 13 December 1557, died before 24 February 1559-1560: Reg. Bon., f.473, Reg. Grin., f.113 (New., ii, p.50). (x) Webb: see above, note, 199.

209. See above, notes 40(viii), 139.

Of those who were deprived, two subscribed in 1559. Indeed Swaddle<sup>210</sup> signed the subscription lists three times. Neither his oath nor Robert Willanton's saved them from deprivation.<sup>211</sup> As Bonner's servant and chaplain they may have been too notorious to be retained even by a very complacent Elizabethan bishop. It is probable that William Harwood was forced to vacate the vicarage of East Ham in 1559 or 1560 to make way for his predecessor. He may have been deprived, but it is also possible that he is to be identified with the William Harwood who subscribed in 1559.<sup>212</sup>

Besides these three another twenty-three<sup>213</sup> of the clergy

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210. See above, note 23; Mullins, op.cit., pp.247, 248.

211. See above, note 34, Mullins, op.cit., p.293.

212. See above, notes 47(iv), 133.

213. (i) Allen subscribed as parson of Chickney: see above, note 141, Gee loc.cit.,. (ii) Robert Bacon was appointed vicar of South Benfleet by Bonner on 24 January 1554-1555. He may have resigned this benefice before his institution to the rectory of Stanford-le-hope on 10 February 1557-1558, although the next institution to South Benfleet was not until 28 June 1558: Reg. Bon., ff.460, 474, 476 (New., ii, pp.48, 548), Gee, op.cit., p.103. (iii) Baker: see above, note 112, Gee, loc.cit.. (iv) Edmund Blackbourne, whom Bonner appointed vicar of Boreham on 20 April 1556, subscribed in 1559: Reg. Bon., f.466 (New., ii, p.75), Gee, loc.cit., (v) Thomas Browne, whom Bonner appointed rector of St. Mary's Colchester on 4 August 1558, subscribed in 1559; Reg. Bon., f.476v. (New., ii, p.175), Gee, loc.cit.. (vi) R.Bracher: see above, notes 51(ii), 190, Gee, loc.cit.. (vii) Brabant: see above, notes 49(i), 118, Gee, loc.cit.. (viii) Campion: see above, notes 131, 191, Gee, loc.cit.. (ix) Chamber: see above, note 142, Gee, loc.cit.. (x) Clatonne: see above, note 143, Gee, op.cit. p.104. (xi) Evans see above, p.355, note 9. As well as his temporary occupancy of the rectory of Tolyshunt Militis in 1554, on 14 December 1558 Evans was instituted to the prebend of Hoxton on Bonner's patronage. He remained in the prebend until the end of February 1579-1580: Reg. Bon., f.478v., Hen., p.32, Gee, op.cit., p.104. (xii) John Glynne, whom Bonner appointed to the rectory of St. Christopher-le-Stock on 29 January 1558-1559 subscribed

appointed by Bonner between 1553 and 1559, are known to have subscribed in 1559. Eight more, Robert Alexander,<sup>214</sup> Leonard Cole,<sup>215</sup>

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213 continued. in 1559: Reg. Bon., f.480 (New., i, p.324), Mullins, op.cit., p.293. (xiii) Grening: see above, note 131. (xiv) Holland: see above, note 134, Gee, op.cit., p.105. (xv) John Mason: see above, notes 47(v), 135, Gee, op.cit., p.106. (xvii) Giles Moore, whom Bonner appointed rector of St. Catherine Coleman on 2 May 1558, subscribed in 1559: Reg. Bon., f.475 (Hen., p.117), see also Mullins, op.cit., pp.261, 277, 289, Gee, op.cit., p.107. (xviii) Richardson: see above, notes 136, 193, Gee, op.cit., p.107. (xviii) Ryley: see above, note 115, Gee, loc.cit. (xix) Robert Stockton, whom Bonner appointed vicar of Coggeshall on 6 May 1558, subscribed in 1559: Reg. Bon., f.475v., (New., ii, p.160), Gee, op.cit., p.108. (xx) Stookes: see above, note 138, Gee, loc.cit. (xxi) Sydall: see above, note 125, Gee, loc.cit. (xxii) Richard Symnell was appointed vicar of Boxted by Bonner on 23 March 1554-1555. In Grindal's Register is noted that he resigned his benefice before 1 November, 1561. He was not deprived as was suggested by Dr. Gee. Symnell subscribed in 1559: Reg. Bon., f.46lv., Reg. Grin., f.122 (New., ii, p.79), Gee, loc.cit. (xxiii) Weale; see above, note 124, Gee, loc.cit.

214. Bonner appointed Robert Alexander to the rectory of Wiley on 11 December 1558 and he was again instituted there by the commissioners on 7 December 1559 and remained in the benefice until his death before 27 November 1580. A Robert Alexander, parson of Hatfield Regis who subscribed in 1559, may have been the rector of Wiley, for no Alexander appears in the list of institutions to Hatfield Regis: Reg. Bon., ff.478v., 483; New., ii, p.666; Gee, op.cit., p.102.

215. Bonner appointed Leonard Cole rector of Gedleston on 5 July 1558, where he survived until 1580. One Leonard Cole, described as parson of Halstead subscribed in 1559: Reg. Bon., f.476, New., i, p.827, Gee, op.cit., p.104.

John Howseman,<sup>216</sup> Thomas Parris,<sup>217</sup> Edward Turner,<sup>218</sup> Peter Walker,<sup>219</sup>  
 John Watson<sup>220</sup> and Peter Welthowe<sup>221</sup> may perhaps be identified with  
 men whose names appear in the subscription lists of the diocese of  
 London. Some whose names do not appear in the lists probably survived  
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216. Bonner appointed John Howseman vicar of Canewdon on 11 April 1554. A John Howseman, described as Master of the Temple, subscribed in 1559: Reg. Bon., f.449v. (New., ii, p.121), Gee, op.cit., p.105. See also Grieve, op.cit., p.156.
217. Bonner appointed Thomas Parris rector of Chipping Ongar on 19 October 1557, where he remained until 1570. A T.Parys, to whom no benefice was assigned, is found in the subscription lists of 1559: New., ii, p.451, Gee, op.cit., p.106.
218. Bonner appointed Edward Turner rector of St. Botolph's Bishopsgate on 30 December 1558, where he remained until he was deprived before 2 July 1569. An E.Turner, to whom no benefice was assigned; subscribed in 1559: Reg. Bon., f.479, New., i, p.313, Gee, op.cit., p.108.
219. See above, note 147. A Peter Walker, to whom was assigned the benefice of St. Leonard's, subscribed in 1559. Dr. Gee suggested that this was the incumbent of St. Leonard's, Witham but it is possible that it was the rector of St. Leonard's, Colchester who subscribed: Gee, loc.cit.
220. See above, notes 55 (i b), 127. A John Watson, to whom no benefice is assigned, subscribed in 1559: Gee, loc.cit.
221. Bonner appointed Peter Welthowe, alias Welthorne, to the vicarage of Hillingdon on 12 October 1558. He resigned before 31 July 1564. A P. Weltham, to whom no benefice was assigned, subscribed in 1559: Reg. Bon., f.477, New., i, p.650, Gee, loc.cit.

the changes between 1558 and 1562. Five<sup>222</sup> definitely survived and another, Henry Slythurst,<sup>223</sup> probably did so. John Standish to whom Bonner had first given preferment in 1543 was deprived of a rectory and an archdeaconry in 1559, but survived without disturbance in his prebend until 1570.<sup>224</sup> Finally John Lukyn,<sup>225</sup> John Parkinson<sup>226</sup> and John Spendlove<sup>227</sup> who had resigned the benefices to which Bonner had preferred them, survived the changes of 1559-1560 elsewhere. It is possible that some of the men who died before 1563 would have retained their benefices without difficulty if they had lived.

Of the remaining six priests beneficed by Bonner between 1553

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222. (i) Bonner appointed John Calbeck vicar of Saling-Magna on 20 September 1557, where he remained until his death before 30 August 1567: Reg. Bon., f.472v., New., ii, p.514. (ii) Bonner appointed Richard Conway vicar of Creshall on 29 October 1554, where he remained until his resignation before 19 January 1569-1570: Reg. Bon., f.457v. New., ii, p.196. (iii) Hervie: see above, note 66. (iv) Leads remained rector of Hanwell from November 1558 until he resigned before 18 May 1570: see above, note 51(v). (v) Edmund Wimsley: see above, note 35.
223. See above, note 47(vii).
224. See above, p. 399, and above, note 24.
225. John Lukyn, whom Bonner appointed to the rectory of All Saints' Colchester on 22 July 1557, resigned the benefice before the end of February 1559-1560. In 1561 and 1562 he received benefices in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire: Reg. Bon., f.472, New., ii, p.164, Venn, op.cit., iii, p.35.
226. See above, notes 41, 146.
227. See above, note 137.

and 1559, it has not been possible to learn when or why Canon,<sup>228</sup> Flint,<sup>229</sup> or William Tye<sup>230</sup> vacated their benefices. Another three<sup>231</sup> are known to have resigned their benefices, but the reasons for their resignations and their later careers remain obscure.

There is no uniform pattern in the histories of the priests to whom Bonner granted benefices between 1539 and 1559. It is possible that the bishop was anxious to extend his patronage and to increase the number of benefices in his control in the diocese. He may consciously have preferred to give country livings and prebends in St. Paul's to those priests who had been educated at Oxford. Bonner does not seem to have taken any action against pluralists. It is possible that shortage of clergy forced him to disregard the pluralism practised by his nominees. But sometimes he cannot have been unaware that he was giving benefices to men already holding two or three other livings. It is possible that between 1553 and 1559 a lack of unmarried and conforming priests

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228. See above, note 2(x).

229. See above, note 2(xi).

230. See above, note 2(xii).

231. (i) William Clerke resigned the vicarage of Rickling to which Bonner had appointed him on 12 October 1556, before 13 May 1558: Reg. Bon., ff.468, 475v. (New., ii, p.494). (ii) John Gambon resigned the rectory of Sutton, to which Bonner had appointed him on 21 June 1555, before 9 May 1556: Reg. Bon., ff.463, 466 (New., ii, p.567). (iii) Richard Peele, whom Bonner appointed rector of Chesterford-Magna on 12 December 1554 resigned that benefice before 28 March 1557 and left no further trace in the diocese: Reg. Bon., f.459v., New., ii, p.133.

gave Bonner no alternative but to reappoint men who had been deprived for marriage. But it does not seem likely that he had of necessity either to reappoint John Hodgkins, or to give the vicarage of Dunmow to John Byrd. It is possible that he had no great aversion to appointing men who had formerly been married. It is also interesting to note that three of the priests appointed in the first half of the episcopate were probably found unacceptable in Mary's reign. The large number of clergy who subscribed in 1559 and who survived the religious changes at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign showed that only a minority of Bonner's nominees so shared their bishop's conservatism that they would sacrifice their livings.

## Chapter 12.

### Bonner's Theological Views.

Although Bonner does not seem to have written a great deal in the years preceding his deprivation in 1549, he left evidence of his standpoint on at least some of the theological controversies which divided his contemporaries. During the second half of his episcopate he wrote much more, and a clear idea can be formed of his views as this period from his Profitable and Necessary Doctrine, published in 1555, as well as from the injunctions he issued in the same year and from the instructions of 1556. Nevertheless, despite the sparse and miscellaneous nature of his earlier writings, Bonner's theological development, as opposed to his later convictions, can be sketched with some assurance.

During Mary's reign Bonner declared of his behaviour under her father "then was it made treason by the laws of this realm to maintain the pope's authority, and great danger it was to be suspected a favourer of the see of Rome; and therefore fear compelled us to bear with the time, for otherwise there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his conscience in maintaining the pope's authority, he suffered death for it".<sup>1</sup> But Bonner can

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1. J. Foxe, Acts and Monuments..., ed. J. Pratt and J. Stoughton, viii, (1877), p. 110.



hardly have been said to have kept his own counsel on the subject of the papal authority since both in his writings and in his letters his denunciations of it have survived.

When Bonner and Cavendish were in Hamburg in 1536 Bonner caused the De Vera Obedientia to be reprinted. Stephen Gardiner's book, first published in London the year before was a defence of the Royal Supremacy. It is possible that Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, had brought a copy of the De Vera to Germany,<sup>2</sup> and that when he arrived he sent it to Bonner. On 27 January 1536 Bonner and Cavendish wrote to Henry VIII that in order to counteract "the evell setting forth of your gracy's affayres" they had had more than a thousand copies of the De Vera printed "& the said oration is in this dayford brought,,glad,, of v(er)y mony & send also in to div(er)se place(s)".<sup>3</sup> For this new edition Bonner wrote a preface<sup>4</sup> which not only endorsed Gardiner's arguments but was violently anti-papal

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2. Before Bishop Foxe left England for Wittenberg, Cromwell made a note that he should be acquainted with the De Vera, and on 21 September Foxe wrote to Cromwell that he had been copying the book: L.P., IX.213(v), L.P., IX.403.
3. B.M.: Add. Ms.48036, ff.100, 107, see also L.P., X.303, p.112.
4. Bonner wrote to the king that the De Vera had been printed "with a preface afore". In 1556 Bonner admitted that he had written the preface and there seems no reason to believe that the preface was falsely ascribed to him: B.M.: Add. Ms.48036, f.107, Foxe, loc.cit., S.R.Maitland, Essays on subjects connected with the Reformation in England, 1849, pp.345-375. Not only Maitland but Canon Dixon also doubted whether Bonner had written the preface: R.W.Dixon, History of the Church of England from the abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction, v, 1902; p.115 note.

in tone. The Pope was a "lupus rapax ovis vestimento", and Bonner wrote also of the "tyrranidem pontificiam, illam, fraudesque illius sathanicas exosas".<sup>5</sup>

In 1537 Bonner probably helped to write Henry VIII's protest against the General Council, which the Pope had summoned to meet in Mantua in May 1537. In April 1537, because of the "difficulties created by the Duke of Mantua" in respect of the guard which the Duke thought would be necessary, the meeting of the Council was postponed until November. In October the Council was postponed again until May 1538 and the place of meeting was changed to Vicenza. Henry VIII fought by every means possible to prevent the meeting of the Council. He considered that the discussions and decisions of such a Council would be of the greatest danger to him.<sup>6</sup>

In July 1536 the Convocation of Canterbury, of which Bonner as archdeacon of Leicester was a member, had judged and declared that the Pope had no right to summon a Council "without the express consent, assent and agreement of the residue of Christian princes".<sup>7</sup>

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5. The Latin texts of the De Vera were compared by Janelle: P. Janelle, ed., Obedience in Church & State, 1930, pp. 67-171, see also ibid., p. xxxii. A translation of the preface was printed by Foxe, op.cit., v, pp. 78-79.
6. H. Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent, i, trans. E. Graf, 1957, pp. 311-312, 327, 333, 336, 307.
7. D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae..., iii, 1737, p. 808. "The judgement of the convocation concerning general councils" was also printed in G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, ed. N. Pocock, iv, 1865, pp. 300-301. See also, L.P., XI.124.

In May 1537 Bonner with Dr. Gwent and Dr. Petre had examined all the books concerning the king's protest against the Council and "brought.../ ...oon hooll boke made in that matter". Bonner was convinced that the king's cause should be publicized.<sup>8</sup> The book he and his colleagues had written was probably the open letter from Henry VIII protesting against the Council. The protest was written sometime after April 1537 and published by Berthelet probably in the late spring of that year.<sup>9</sup>

In this protest the authors first declared that the Pope had no authority to summon kings to a Council. They then went on to declare that at such a council men would not be free to disagree with the Pope, who in any case was not fit to heal the abuses in the Church. Indeed, the Pope's Council, his "hutter-mutter in corners" would "take away all hope of a lawful catholic and general council...". Moreover, the journey to Mantua and the attendance at the Council would imperil the lives of all those who were not the Pope's supporters: "These be no news, that popes are false,

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8. P.R.O.: S.P., 1/120, f.149 (L.P., XII(i).1244), St.P., i, p.550 (L.P., XII(ii).7).

9. Part of the king's protest was printed in Foxe, op.cit., pp.138-144. See also L.P., XII(i).1310, note. In 1538 the king authorized the printing of another protest in his name, against the summoning of the Council to Vicenza. There is no extant evidence to connect Bonner with this second protest, but it is possible that he had helped to prepare it: L.P., XIII(i).709, 781.

that popes keep no promise either with God or man; that popes, contrary to their oaths, do defile their cruel hands with honest men's blood...".<sup>10</sup>

Turning from their discussion of the Pope's projected Council, the authors discussed the Pope's enmity to the king and related the advantages which had come to the kingdom by "the pulling down of his usurped power and proud primacy...". And they added "Surely, except God take away our right wits, not only his authority shall be driven out for ever, but his name also shortly shall be forgotten in England".<sup>11</sup> Thus, the pamphlet not only left no doubt as to Henry's attitude towards the Council, but also vigorously defended the abolition of papal jurisdiction in England.

There is no indication to show whether the composition of this letter was mainly Bonner's work or whether the burden of it was shared equally with his two colleagues. Richard Gwent was a doctor of both canon and civil law. It is possible that Bonner had known him in Oxford for he proceeded doctor of civil law only a few months before Bonner. In July 1536 Bonner had advocated the election of Gwent, since 1532 dean of the Court of Arches, as prolector of the lower house of Convocation.<sup>12</sup> Petro, also an Oxford civilian lawyer, did not proceed to his doctorate until 1533, but if Bonner

10. Foxe, op.cit., pp.138-141, esp. pp.140, 141.

11. ibid., pp.141-144, esp. pp.141, 142.

12. For Gwent, see above, chap. 9, p. 279, and his biography in D.N.B.

had not known him at the university he may have met him in Cromwell's household, for on 13 January 1536 Petre had been appointed deputy to Cromwell in his capacity as vicar-general.<sup>13</sup> Both Bonner, a distinguished civil lawyer with diplomatic experience, and Gwent, a canonist who had attained a position of great eminence in his profession, were senior to Petre in age, but it is possible that the younger man, already perhaps closer to the fount of power, played a more decisive part in the composition of the pamphlet than his colleagues. On the other hand Bonner communicated their progress to Cromwell. It seems likely that he agreed both with the arguments and the tone of the protest.

Bonner may have been told to write the preface to the De Vera and to have it printed in Hamburg. The king, or Cromwell, had asked him to read books concerning the protest, and had probably told him to reduce their arguments into one pamphlet.<sup>14</sup> But it is likely that Bonner had arranged the reprinting of the De Vera on his own initiative: certainly in his letters to the king and to Cromwell he gave no hint that he was fulfilling a task imposed on him from England.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, Bonner, in order to reach a position where he might expect such tasks as composing arguments against the

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13. For Petre see below, Epilogue, p.446, and his biography in D.N.B.

14. L.P., XII(1).1244.

15. B.M.: Add. Ms.48036, ff.100, 107.

General Council, that had either explicitly or implicitly to deny the Pope's supremacy. If it is true that he was forced through fear to compose anti-papal statements, a man with less ambition could perhaps have remained with a clear conscience in obscurity, or a man with more courage could have found his way out of the dilemma through martyrdom.

However, there is some evidence which shows that Bonner, in this period, expressed anti-papal convictions in private, as well as expounding them in public. In a long letter to Cromwell written from Bologna in December 1532, Bonner said that on his journey from Rome the Pope and his company had been forced by bad roads and bad weather to go on foot at times, "and his compaynye, besides that pleasure and pastyme, for lak of a fether bed, compelled to lie in the strawe; wher, if I had been harbinger, I woold other have caused theym to lie on the boordes with sorowe, or elles have sett fyre in the strawe...". In a similar anti-papal vein was his description of the Pope's entry into Bologna and his first meeting with the emperor.<sup>16</sup> Ten years later when he was Henry VIII's ambassador in Spain, Bonner wrote to his colleague Thirlby with regard to the Pope "I truste that pretended and usurped power shall aswell decaye there (ie Portugal), as it is utterlye extinguyshed in Englande". On another occasion he described the Pope's action in proclaiming a jubilee in these words: "it may be that He (as He is wonte, and his predecessours) hath doon this to pike mens purses

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16. St.P., vii, p.394 (L.P., v.1658).

of their money".<sup>17</sup>

Hope of preferment might have caused Bonner to speak slightly of the Pope in a letter to Cromwell in 1532, but his position with the king would not have been affected if he had omitted his anti-papal remarks from his letter to Thirlby in 1542. It is possible that he had for so many years disguised his true reverence for the papacy by his violent language that even when it was unnecessary his fearfulness compelled him to maintain his rôle as an extreme anti-papalist. There are however two other possibilities. Bonner may simply have acquiesced in the anti-papalism of his king and contemporaries considering only the implications for his own career of a refusal to conform. On the other hand it is possible that at this time Bonner sincerely believed the sentiments he expressed, and that the papal jurisdiction had indeed been a "usurped power".

Even if Bonner was sincerely convinced of the evils of the papacy there is no evidence to show whether he developed his anti-papalism into a coherent doctrine of the Church on Protestant lines. Bonner may have been anti-papal, but no more sympathetic to the Protestants than behaved one of Cromwell's followers to appear. However, the martyrologist, Foxe, to whom Bonner was the archvillain

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17. St.P., ix, p.158 note (L.P., XVII.783, p.432), ibid., p.209 (L.P., XVII.1004).

of the Marian persecutions, wrote "Dr. Bonner, in the time of his first springing up, showed himself a good man, and a fast friend to the gospel of Christ", "he...appeared...a diligent friend to the truth".<sup>18</sup> Such a judgment from one of Bonner's opponents might be dismissed as a device to show up in sharper perspective Bonner's behaviour during Mary's reign. But there are three pieces of information which show that Foxe may perhaps have been correct in this belief that until 1540 Bonner appeared to lean towards the Protestants.

In 1536, when he had printed the De Vera, Bonner wrote to Bishop Foxe, who was engaged in conversations with the German Protestant leaders at Wittenberg. Bonner said that he was enclosing letters to Luther and to Melanchthon as well as two copies of the De Vera which he asked Foxe to deliver to the German leaders.<sup>19</sup> When Bonner was sent to Spain in 1538 he wrote to the king that his colleague, Dr. Heynes, had "not wanted the evil report of naughty fellows naming him Lutheran, wherein for company I was joined such was their goodness".<sup>20</sup>

Neither Bonner's courtesy towards Luther and Melanchthon nor the reputation he gained in Spain proved him to have been sympathetic

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18. Foxe, op.cit., pp.151, 160.

19. B.M.: Add.Ms. 48036, f.111v.

20. See above, Chap. 6, p.179 , L.P., XIII(11).59.



to the Reformers. In Germany Bonner may have wished to assist the king's hope for an alliance with the German Protestants, and to the Spaniards all Englishmen may have seemed heretics.<sup>21</sup> But the assistance Bonner gave in hastening the printing of the Great Bible in France in the autumn of 1538 indicates that at that time he was willing to assist the achievement of at least one of the Reformers' aims: an English translation of the Bible. The new translation was edited by Coverdale and Bonner's relationship with his "loving friend Mr Coverdale" was amicable. Coverdale trusted Bonner so much that in December 1538 he suggested that if he were allowed to make some annotations to the "dark places" of the text of the Great Bible, the Bishop of Hereford could examine his comments before they were printed.<sup>22</sup>

Bonner gave assistance and support to the translator and to Grafton, the English printer who was in France to supervise the production of the Great Bible. Indeed in the Acts and Monuments, Foxe declared that Bonner "did divers and sundry times call and command the said persons to be in manner daily at his table, both dinner and supper; and so much rejoiced in the workmanship of the said Bible, that he himself would visit the imprinter's house, where

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21. In 1541 Wyatt wrote that in 1538 Englishmen in Spain were reputed "to be all Lutherans": L.P., XVI.641, p.309.
22. St.P., viii, p.107 (L.P., XIII(11).993); J.A.Kingdon, Incidents in the lives of Thomas Kyntz and Richard Grafton, 1895, p.47 (L.P., XIII(11).1043); see also the letter from Coverdale and Grafton to Cromwell of 12 September 1538: L.P., XIII(11).366.

the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed, he little weighed". Foxe believed that it was owing to Bonner's support that in November 1538 the French printer, Regnault, published a New Testament in Latin and English. Foxe also recorded the story that on his translation to London, Bonner promised Grafton that he would set up six "Great Bibles" in St. Paul's. It is true, that before he left France Bonner arranged for the Bibles to be placed in St. Paul's. Whether or not Bonner's enthusiasm for an English translation of the Bible was as fervent as Foxe imagined, Wyatt's remark in March 1541 emphasized the contradiction in Bonner's career: "it was not like then (i.e. 1538) that the bishop of London should sue to have the Scripture in English taken out of the church";<sup>23</sup>

Bonner's religious observances, where they can be ascertained, rarely shed much light on his theological views. He seems to have had a fair acquaintance with the New Testament. In one letter to Cromwell he quoted the parable of the man knocking on his neighbour's door, and in a letter to Bishop Foxe in 1536, he referred to Christ's prohibition against serving two masters. How profound his knowledge of the Gospel was is open to question.<sup>24</sup>

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23. Foxe, oplocit., p.411, J.F.Mozley, Coverdale and his Bibles, 1953, p.265, L.P., XVI. 640, p.309.

24. P.R.O.: S.P.1/156, f.9 (L.P., XIV(ii).764), B.M.: Add. Ms. 48036, f.127v.

In his complaints against Bonner, Wyatt declared that when he had been in Spain in 1538, Bonner had never said mass, nor had he even offered to hear it. Wyatt had had to entreat Bonner to show himself occasionally in church.<sup>25</sup> It is possible that Bonner did indeed fail to say mass regularly while he was abroad. Unfortunately there is not much evidence to show whether he was more regular in his devotions when he became Bishop of London. In the drought of 1540 Bonner obeyed the king's injunctions to the bishops to arrange prayers and processions for rain. When peace was concluded with France in 1546 Bonner attended high mass in St. Paul's and then, carrying the holy sacrament under a canopy, went in procession around the City of London. These two instances of Bonner's participation in religious ceremonies on occasions of public fear or rejoicing, are not evidence that he became more devout and regular in his own religious practice after his elevation to the episcopate.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand in the articles sent to Bonner by the Privy Council in 1549 it was mentioned that before the promulgation of the Prayer Book the bishop had been accustomed to preach or say mass in person on major feast days. Similarly the injunctions to the clergy of London which Bonner authorized in 1542 show that he had some concern for the pastoral needs of his

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25. L.P., XVI.641, p.309.

26. W.D.Hamilton, ed., A Chronicle of England...By Charles Wriothesley, i, Camden Society, n.s., xi, 1875, pp.123, 164.

diocese.<sup>27</sup>

Apart from his anti-papalism and his sympathy for a translation of the Bible into English, the details of Bonner's theological views are not easy to determine before 1540. In 1536 he signed the Articles of Religion which were prepared by Convocation and published by the king's authority. The Ten Articles were a compromise between the orthodox and the reformers. For instance Convocation accepted the view that in the mass "under the form and figure of bread and wine... is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ". But the mystery of the consecration was not explained in terms of transubstantiation.<sup>28</sup> In 1537 Bonner signed Convocation's preface to the Institution of a Christian Man, a manual of instruction commonly known as the Bishops' Book. This also represented a compromise between the conservative and the reformers. Very similar to the articles of the previous year, the Institution did however discuss the four sacraments which had been omitted in the Articles: matrimony, confirmation, holy orders and extreme unction. The Institution also included a long analysis of the articles of the Creed, and expositions of the Ten Commandments,

27. Foxe, op.cit., p.729. The injunctions were printed by Burnet, op.cit., pp.510-517, from Reg. Bon., ff.38v.-39.

28. C.Lloyd, Formularies of Faith Put Forth by Authority during the Reign of Henry VIII, 1825, pp.19, xxv.

the Paternoster and the Ave Maria.<sup>29</sup>

Bonner is not known to have played any part in the composition of either of these formularies of faith.<sup>30</sup> However, since his sojourn in Germany he had been acquainted with Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, who, with Cranmer, was mainly responsible for the production of the Institution.<sup>31</sup> Bonner may have had the opportunity of discussing the book with one of its authors, but there is no reason to suppose that he influenced its form or its wording.

That Bonner signed the Articles and the preface to the Institution reveals only that he acquiesced in their composition. He may have felt that he had no alternative to signing them but it is possible that he not only acquiesced but agreed with their general argument. It is not possible to know what his views were on the details of either of these books. There has, however, survived evidence which reveals Bonner's opinions about the year 1540. In April 1540 Cromwell announced in the Lords that the king had decided to appoint certain Bishops and doctors to a commission on doctrine.<sup>32</sup>

29. ibid., p.27, see also Wilkins, op.cit., p.831; Lloyd, op.cit., pp.30-177.

30. Strype believed that Bonner had been one of the divines commissioned to work on the Institution, but he gave no indication of his sources for this statement, and no other hint has survived that Bonner was more closely connected with it than as one of the signatories to the preface: J.Strype, Memorials of... Thomas Cranmer, i, 1840, p.77.

31. L.P., XII(11).289, 410, 578.

32. Journals of the House of Lords, i, n.d., p.129.

In the previous year, while Bonner was in France, the Six Articles had been made law by Parliament. This statute was a return to the orthodox position in religion, for transubstantiation, communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, inviolable vows of chastity, private masses and compulsory auricular confession had been reaffirmed. Denial of transubstantiation was declared to be heresy, and was punishable by death.<sup>33</sup> The commission of 1540 was to prepare a statement of doctrine to supplement the Act. Bonner, now Bishop of London, was one of the bishops appointed to draw up the new formulary.<sup>34</sup>

This commission was responsible for the composition of the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man, which, commonly known as the King's Book, appeared in 1543. In the King's Book the conservative position was restated. For instance it declared that "in this most high sacrament of the altar, the creatures which be taken to the use thereof, as bread and wine, do not remain still in their same substance, but by the virtue of Christ's word in the consecration, be changed and turned to the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ".<sup>35</sup>

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33. Statutes of the Realm, III, 1817, pp.739-740.

34. Journals, loc.cit.

35. Lloyd, op.cit., pp.262-263.

Since Bonner was in Spain as ambassador to Charles V from February 1542, he could not have participated in the discussions of the commission after that date, nor have heard the debates in Convocation in April 1543 when the King's Book was presented to the clergy for their consideration.<sup>36</sup> Bonner's share in the composition of the book was thus necessarily limited.

There has however survived a list of answers given by several bishops and divines, of whom Bonner was one, to questions about the sacraments and church government. This list probably dates from the year 1540.<sup>37</sup> The answers are said to have been written in full by each bishop, and then summarized by Cranmer for presentation to the king.<sup>38</sup> From Bonner's answers it is possible to gauge whether he had formulated his ideas clearly, and also whether his contributions to the commission's work was likely to have been important.

In his answers to the seventeen questions, Bonner deferred frequently to the judgment of the other bishops and divines. He may genuinely have believed that the opinions of a man with legal and diplomatic experience were of less value than the views of academic theologians. However, it is possible that Bonner purposely

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36. L.P., XVIII(1).365.

37. "The resolutions of several bishops and divines, of some questions concerning the sacraments", was printed from manuscripts in the Stillingfleet collection, in Lambeth Palace Library, Burnet, op.cit., pp.443-496.

38. Strype, op.cit., pp.111-112.

refrained from revealing his true opinions on matters that were controversial and difficult to solve.

To the first question "What a sacrament is by the scripture" Bonner cited twelve instances where the word was used in the Old and the New Testaments but declared "what a sacrament is by definition, or description of scripture, I cannot find it explicated openly...Marry, what other men can find, being daily and of long season exercised in scripture, I cannot tell, referring therefore this thing to their better knowledge".<sup>39</sup> Similarly to the second question "What a sacrament is by the ancient authors?", to the eighth "Whether confirmation, cum chrismate, of them that be baptized, be found in scripture?", and to the twelfth "Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?" Bonner deferred to "those of higher judgment".<sup>40</sup>

As well as explicitly denying his ability to answer a question, on other occasions he also gave vague and indecisive answers. For instance, to the fourth question "How many sacraments there be by the ancient authors", Bonner cited St. Augustine's six sacraments and quoted his remark "that in the old law there were many sacraments, and in the new law few".<sup>41</sup> To the seventh question which asked

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39. Burnet, op.cit., pp.444.

40. ibid., pp.447, 465, 478.

41. ibid., p.452.



"What is found in scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven sacraments; so as although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in scripture or no?, and in what wise spoken of?", both Cranmer and the other archbishop, Lee, gave long answers, taking each sacrament in turn. Bonner however once again turned to St. Augustine quoting first his statement "that where the sacraments of the old law did promise grace and comfort, the sacraments of the new law doth give it indeed", and then adding Augustine's remark that the "sacraments of the new law are... more easier, more fewer, more wholesomer, and more happier".<sup>42</sup>

It is true that Bonner's answers to some of the questions were no more vague than those of his colleagues. For instance both Heath and Day gave a general answer to the second question, "what is a sacrament by the ancient authors?". Both sidestepped the question by remarking that the word sacrament had many meanings in the Fathers.<sup>43</sup>

Despite Bonner's caution some idea of his theological position can be gauged from his answers in 1540. Answering the question, whether the word sacrament should be applied to the seven only, Bonner replied that it might be true that there were more than seven

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42. ibid., pp.460, 462.

43. ibid., pp.446-447.

sacraments. However he believed that the fact that "the seven have been specially of very long and ancient season received, continued and taken for things of such sort" was a reason to confine the word sacrament to the seven. As well as his reverence for custom and tradition, Bonner revealed his conservatism in his answer to the question whether a man was bound "to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest". Bonner replied that a sinner ought to "confess his open sins". He added that "all sins as touching God are open, and in no wise secret or hid".<sup>44</sup>

Combined with his hesitant conservatism on matters of doctrine was Bonner's Erastianism. To the ninth question "Whether the apostles lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given to them by God?", Bonner replied that he thought "the apostles made bishops by the law of God...nevertheless, I think if Christian princes had been then, they should have named by right, and appointed the said bishops to their rooms and places". In this conclusion Bonner was more extreme than most of his colleagues in his support of the authority of the prince over the Church.<sup>45</sup> The history of his own career may perhaps explain why he maintained this position.

In the injunctions to the clergy issued in 1542 Bonner's

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44. ibid., pp.455, 487-488.

45. ibid., pp.467, 469. Bonner frequently wrote of the king's great wisdom and many virtues, for instance see his letter to Cromwell of 9 August 1538; L.P., XIII(11).60.

position was fundamentally the same as it had been when he sat on the commission of doctrine. His Catholic conservatism appeared when he ordered his clergy to "rehearse no sermons made by other men within these CC or CCC years...every preacher shall declare the same Gospel or Epistle, or both, even from the beginning, not after his own mind, but after the mind of some catholic doctor allowed in this church of England, and in no wise affirm any thing, but that which he shall be ready always to shew in some ancient writer". His Erastiansism appeared in his first injunction, "That you and every of you shall, with all diligence, and faithfull obedience, observe and keep, and cause to be observed and kept, to the uttermost of your powers, all and singular the kings' highness most gracious and godly ordinances and injunctions given and set forth by his grace's authority".<sup>46</sup>

Between 1540 and 1547 Bonner acted three times as one of the commissioners<sup>47</sup> for the execution of the Act of Six Articles. He was also summoned on occasions by the Privy Council to examine Protestant

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46. Burnet, op.cit., pp.515-516, 510.

47. Bonner participated actively in the work of these commissions, for instance, he signed the letter and the evidences sent by the commissioners for Essex to Henry VIII in May 1546; P.R.O.: S.P. 1/218 ff.139v. (L.P., XXI(i).836(i)), 140 (L.P., XXI(i).836(ii)). The Royal Commission for inquiring upon the Act of Six Articles, issued to Bonner and others in 1541, is printed, from Reg. Bon., f.37, in Foxe, op.cit., App. IX, see also ibid., pp.830-831 for references to the commissions of 1542 and 1545. It is interesting to note that another commission to investigate the Act was issued on 13 April 1547: Reg. Bon., f.114v., printed in Foxe, op.cit., App. XX.

preachers such as Crome and Bishop Shaxton.<sup>48</sup> An analysis of Bonner's behaviour towards heretics in the reign of Henry VIII serves as an introduction to his policy and behaviour during the Marian persecutions in London, and thus falls outside the scope of this thesis. There are however one or two points which emerge from Bonner's treatment of heretics before 1547 which shed light on his theological development. In 1545 he argued at length with Mistress Anne Askew. By his questions Bonner revealed that he was anxious to uphold the doctrine of transubstantiation in the mass, for he harried and pestered her whenever she seemed to admit that the Body and Blood could be received by faith<sup>49</sup>

It may be questioned how far Bonner's conservative Eucharistic theology was based on a deep understanding of the fundamental differences between orthodox and reforming divines. During the Lords' Debate in December 1548 on the doctrines contained in the Prayer Book, which was to be published and authorized for general use in England in the following year,<sup>50</sup> Bonner revealed some of the motives which impelled him to adopt the conservative position.

The debate began on 15 December. Bonner does not seem to have made any contribution on the first day. significant enough to have been recorded. When the debate was resumed on 17 December

48. L.P., XXI(1).783, 790, 1138, 1244, 1383(49).

49. Foxe, op.cit., p.540.

50. F.Procter and W.H.Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer with a Rationale of its Offices, 1902, pp.47-48.

Bonner did contribute a few remarks. His statements then and on the two following days are of some importance in assessing the development of his theological views.

Bonner declared that "when anything is called into question, yf ye dispute yt, ye muste see whether it be Decent, Lawful and expedient". The doctrine of the Eucharist propounded in the new Prayer Book was not decent because it had already been condemned as heresy. He declared that it was heresy to call the holy sacrament, bread. Citing the arguments of Chrysostom he argued that Christ gave his disciples not only bread, but his flesh also.<sup>51</sup> On the third day of the debate Bonner took part only to observe of the nature of the sacrament, that in it there was a mode of giving and a thing given, and to declare that the thing given was not simply a figure.<sup>52</sup>

To Bonner the fact that the doctrine of the Eucharist propounded by the new Prayer Book, had been condemned as heresy was a convincing argument against it. It is possible that as a lawyer he had more respect for tradition than some of the theologians with whom he was arguing. Bonner was unable to understand the motives which pressed his contemporaries to search for a new explanation

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51. J.T.Tomlinson, ed., The Great Parliamentary Debate In 1548, on the Lords' Supper, (1915), p.31. Tomlinson printed the notes on the debate from B.M.: Royal Ms. 17, B.xxxix.

52. ibid., p.43.

of the mystery of the sacrament. Fear, or perhaps impatience with theological arguments, may have held him back from accepting the new definition. In his speech on the final day of the debate, Bonner did not cite scripture or propound philosophical arguments to defeat the new Eucharistic doctrine, rather, his arguments appealed in a way to convenience and practicability: "As we seke and here, whate shall we do then, when we have serched? Beleve. Then we muste. What shall we do then? Marye there abyde, and go no further, then our holly fathers that have serched and come to the belief muste be followed. They have founde yt; we shulde not then go seke it styll, but followe theym, and beleve as they did".<sup>53</sup>

Whatever the motives of Bonner's Eucharistic theology it was apparent that by 1547 he had established himself as one of the conservatives on the bench of bishops. Although Bonner had never explicitly committed himself to a Protestant Eucharistic theology, in 1536 he had acquiesced in doctrines which were less than catholic. Moreover, in 1538 he had helped to further the printing of the Great Bible and at the same time he had violently denounced the papal supremacy. Some of his contemporaries, remembering that this apparent Protestant in Cromwell's time had espoused a conservative doctrinal position in the years of reaction at the end of Henry's reign, may have expected him to bend once more to the

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53. ibid., pp.52-53.

prevailing winds of religious opinion. That he did not do so should not obscure the picture of his earlier vacillation.

## Epilogue



Bonner's trial in 1549.

Bonner managed to come to terms with the new government for the first two and a half years of Edward's reign. He played a prominent part in the ceremonies of Henry VIII's funeral and participated in the coronation of Edward VI.<sup>1</sup> He was probably angered with the government's ruling that the commissions issued by Henry VIII authorizing the bishops to exercise their episcopal jurisdiction had lapsed with the monarch's death.<sup>2</sup> But his dissatisfaction does not seem to have found active expression. The Bishop of London made no protest when Cranmer visited his diocese in May 1547, and it was only when royal commissioners visited the diocese in September that he lost his temper and acted without his usual caution.

The commissioners gave Bonner "certain injunctions, as well in print as written, and homilies set forth by the king".<sup>4</sup> Bonner solemnly declared "I do receive these injunctions and homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary

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1. J.Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II(ii), 1822, pp.303, 307, A.P.C., 1547-1550, pp.29-30.
2. J.A.Muller, The Letters of Stephen Gardiner, 1933, pp.268-272.
3. D.Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae, iv, 1737, pp.14-15.
4. J.Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J.Pratt and J.Stoughton, v, (1877), p.742.

and repugnant to God's law and the statutes and ordinances of the church".<sup>5</sup>

Bonner seems to have regretted his outburst. He was summoned to appear before the Council on 12 September in order to answer for the "contempt of thauthoritie which his Majeste hathe justley in earthe of this Church of England". The Council asked Bonner a number of questions and finally asked him whether he would renounce his protestation. He agreed to do so but, so the Council declared, "began to couche it in sicke words as shuld have impared the credit of the Visitours if his quiddities had not been found out."<sup>6</sup> The Councillors were however able to devise a form of submission which did not impair the authority of the visitors and which Bonner agreed to sign.

Although in his submission Bonner had abjectly renounced his protestation, and humbly begged the Council to seek his pardon from the king, the Council decided "that summewhat shuld be doone towerdes him to staye others", and the bishop was sent to the Fleet.<sup>7</sup> Bonner's imprisonment in 1547 was a warning of what he might expect if he did not acquiesce in the government's programme; it was not of

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5. ibid., printed also in Wilkins, op.cit., p.10 and A.P.C., 1547-1550, p.126.

6. A.P.C., 1547-1550, p.126.

7. ibid., see also Foxe, op.cit., p.744.

itself a severe punishment for he was at liberty again before 27 September.<sup>8</sup> He was released on bail for a few weeks, and by 23 October he was entirely free and his bail discharged.<sup>9</sup>

Bonner's arrest in 1547 was a prelude to the dramatic events of 1549, and it seems to have served as a sound warning. For almost two years he acquiesced outwardly in the government's policy. It is true that in January 1549 he voted against the Act of Uniformity which promulgated the new Prayer Book,<sup>10</sup> and that he was dilatory in seeing that the new order of service was used in his diocese.<sup>11</sup> But he did himself celebrate communion in accordance with the new order of service albeit unwillingly.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that Bonner would not explicitly have resisted the government's policy in 1549 if the Council had not felt it necessary to force him into a position where he had to declare his mind one way or the other.

The Council had to write to Bonner on 24 June 1549 ordering that private masses in St. Paul's should be abolished and that the

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8. G.Lefèvre-Pontalis, ed., Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve, Commission des Archives Diplomatiques, 1888, p.210.

9. Sp.Cal., ix, pp.169, 188.

10. Journals of the House of Lords, i, n.d., p.331.

11. see below, pp.438-439; notes 13-16.

12. J.G.Nichols, ed., Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, Camden Society, liii, 1852, p.62.

communion should be celebrated only at the high altar.<sup>13</sup> Two days later Bonner wrote to the Dean and Chapter ordering them to proceed according to the Council's letter.<sup>14</sup> A month later, on 23 July, the king and Council again wrote to Bonner. It was "no small occasion of sorrowe" that the king had learnt that the Prayer Book "remayneth, in meny places of this oure Realme, eyther not knowen at all,/ or not used". Bonner was ordered to make sure that the book was available throughout his diocese, and to show more devotion himself to the Common Prayer.<sup>15</sup> Once again Bonner accepted the Council's strictures and three days later wrote to the archdeacons of London, Colchester and Essex charging them to see that the Council's order was obeyed.<sup>16</sup>

The Council may have feared the effects on its policies if it allowed Bonner to remain at liberty. Although the bishop had done as he was told, he was known to be an opponent of the new theology. During June and July the Council may have hoped to force

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13. Reg. Bon., f.168v., A copy of this letter is at Reg. Bon., f.218v., and it has been printed in Foxe, op.cit., p.723 and in Wilkins, op.cit., p.34.
14. Reg. Bon., f.168v. A copy of Bonner's letter is at Reg. Bon., f.219. It has been printed in Foxe, op.cit., pp.723-724, and in Wilkins, op.cit., p.35.
15. Reg. Bon., ff.219-219v. This letter has been printed in Foxe, op.cit., pp.726-727, and in Wilkins, op.cit., pp.35-36.
16. Reg. Bon., f.219v. This letter has been printed in Foxe, op.cit., p.727, where, however, it is headed "A letter of Bonner to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's".

Bonner into open disobedience. If so, the Councillors had thus far met with no success. But on 10 August 1549<sup>17</sup> they summoned Bonner and gave him a long letter which contained a number of explicit commands. He was ordered to preach at Paul's Cross in London three weeks from the following Sunday and the matters he was to discuss in his sermon were outlined in a memorandum enclosed in their letters.<sup>18</sup> He was to celebrate the communion at the high altar of

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17. This letter is to be found at Reg. Bon., f.220v, and the articles for the sermon at Reg. Bon., ff.220v.-221. The letter was printed in Foxe, op.cit., pp.729-730, and the articles at pp.745-746. The letter and the articles survive in a draft probably in Secretary Smith's hand, which is now at P.R.O.: S.P. 10/8, ff.62-66. Part of this draft was copied with some additions and is now at P.R.O.: S.P.10/8, ff.67-70. Bonner celebrated the communion at St. Paul's on Sunday, 18 August 1549 and preached his sermon on Sunday 1 September: Nicholas, ed., loc. cit.; ibid., p.63, see also H.Robinson, ed., Original Letters relative to the English Reformation...chiefly from the Archives of Zurich, ii, Parker Society, 1846, pp.557-558. The Council had ordered Bonner to celebrate "on Sunday come seventh night", and to preach "the Sunday after the date hereof three weeks": Foxe, op.cit., pp.746, 729. Thus the Council must have delivered its letter to Bonner sometime between 4 and 11 August. The first draft in the Public Record Office is dated 2 August, and it is possible that it was written a few days before the letter was finally composed. The second draft is dated 9 August, but it may have been sent to the bishop after 29 August, for it included the further directions sent to the bishop as a result of the defeat of the rebels. There seems no reason to doubt Foxe's statement that the letter was delivered to Bonner on 10 August: Reg. Bon., f.224v., Foxe, op.cit., p.762 and note 3, see note on p.845. See also Bonner's remark that he was present when the Lord Protector and the other councillors told him to preach the sermon: ibid., p.759.
18. Reg. Bon., f.220v., (Foxe, op.cit., p.729). In the first draft no date was given for Bonner's sermon at St. Paul's, and in the second draft the injunction was omitted: P.R.O.: S.P. 10/8, f.63v.

St. Paul's on the following Sunday week.<sup>19</sup> The Council commanded the bishop to attend the services prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and he was to "see one onelie order used in yo(u)<sup>r</sup> dioc(ese), ac/cordinge to o(u)<sup>r</sup> said booke and none other".<sup>20</sup> Bonner and his officers were to seek out adulterers,<sup>21</sup> and to see that St. Paul's was kept in better repair.<sup>22</sup> Finally Bonner was commanded to "keape residence in yo(u)<sup>r</sup> house there, as in the Cyttye, ,,See,, and principall/place, of youre dioc(ese) and noone otherwhere, for a certayne tyme, untill ye shall ,,be,, otherwyse licensed/ by us.". <sup>23</sup>

The rebellion in Cornwall, Devon, and Norfolk had persuaded the Council that it would be useful if Bonner preached against the rebels. Accordingly, the articles which the Council sent him for inclusion in his sermon were first, that rebellion against the king

19. Reg. Bon., ff.220v.-221, (Foxe, op.cit., p.746). The injunction to celebrate communion on the following Sunday week was included among the articles on which Bonner was to preach, although in the letter from the Council Bonner was given a general order to celebrate holy communion on all such feast days as his predecessors celebrated mass in St. Paul's. The injunction to celebrate communion was omitted from the first draft in the Public Record Office, but very briefly included in the second: P.R.O.: S.P. 10/8, f.67v.
20. Reg. Bon., f.220v., (Foxe, op.cit., p.729). This injunction was omitted from both drafts.
21. Reg. Bon., f.220v., (Foxe, op.cit., pp.729-730). This injunction was omitted from both drafts.
22. Reg. Bon., f.220v., (Foxe, op.cit., p.730). This injunction is written in almost exactly the same words in the first draft, but omitted from the second: P.R.O.: S.P.10/8, f.63.
23. Reg. Bon., f.220v., (Foxe, op.cit., p.730). This injunction is the first given in the first draft, but it is omitted from the second: P.R.O.: S.P.10/8, f.63.

would lead to damnation.<sup>24</sup> Secondly, he was to declare that God required of each man the sacrifice of humility and innocence, charity and love and especially obedience to his word and to his ministers and to the superior powers. Bonner was to declare that such obedience meant the use of new rites.<sup>25</sup> Bonner was also to maintain in his sermon that the king's authority was as great, even though he was a minor, as if he were thirty or forty years old.<sup>26</sup> On 29 August Bonner received another short letter from the Council in which he was ordered to take the opportunity of his sermon of telling the assembled multitudes of the victory of the government over the rebels in Norfolk, Devon and Cornwall.<sup>27</sup>

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24. Reg. Bon., ff.220v.-221, (Foxe, op.cit., p.745), P.R.O.: S.P.10/8, ff.64v., 67.
25. Reg. Bon., ff.220v.-221, (Foxe, op.cit., pp.745-746), P.R.O.: S.P.10/8, ff.65, 67-67v.
26. Reg. Bon., ff.220v.-221, (Foxe, op.cit., p.746). This article was omitted from the first draft but included in the second: P.R.O.: S.P.10/8, f.68.
27. Reg. Bon., ff.221, 221-221v. This letter of 29 August and the paragraph concerning the victory over the rebels which Bonner was to include in his sermon were not printed by Foxe. They are not found in the first draft but are in the second: P.R.O.: S.P. 10/8 ff.68-68v.

In his sermon<sup>28</sup> on 1 September Bonner began by analyzing what a parable was. He then continued and discussed two parables from St. Luke's Gospel in which God showed man that he should pray and not despair. First he discussed the parable of the widow and the unjust judge and then continued with the parable of the pharisee and the publican,<sup>29</sup> the Gospel of the day. He analyzed the parables carefully, giving the historical background and quoting other parts of the Bible, the Fathers and ancient writers, as well as including a story of a contemporary London usurer.

When he had discussed the two parables at length Bonner related their lessons to the rebels in Devon, Cornwall and Norfolk. He could not tell whether the rebels were more like the unjust judge who neither feared God nor man, or like the pharisee who believed

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28. A copy has survived in the Hatfield manuscripts of the sermon which Bonner delivered on 1 September, and this can be found in the B.M. microfilm collection: B.M.: M.485/52, vol.198, ff.34-46v. This copy was written as if it had been taken down as the bishop was speaking, for as well as giving the text of the sermon, the writer described some of his actions: ibid., ff.44-44v. Although nowhere in the text is the preacher identified with Bonner it is very unlikely that the sermon was delivered by anyone else. There are two reasons for this assertion: (i) the preacher mentioned that the Council had told him of the rebels' defeat and had told him to declare it on this occasion: ibid., see above, note 27, and (ii) because the preacher used the same examples in his sermon as had the Council in the special points and articles which they had sent to Bonner, for instance that the sacrifices of Korah, Dathan and Abiram were of no avail because they had sinned so grievously in rebelling: ibid., f.43, Foxe, op.cit., p.746.

29. St. Luke, 18, 1-14.



that only he was good. The bishop declared that the devil tempted men to rebellion and citing the Epistle to the Romans said that "whosoever resisteth/ the authoritie of y<sup>e</sup> powrs resistethe the ordinance / of god, and who so ever resistethe the ordinance/ of god obteynethe and gettethe damnation". Thus he had fulfilled the Council's demands in one respect and had included in his sermon the first article they had sent him.<sup>30</sup> After citing examples from the Bible of how God punished rebels, he then declared that the Council had sent him the news of the defeat of the rebels in Devon, Cornwall and Norfolk: "my lorde toke// the byll owt of his bosome and rede the same/ thoroujghe owt". In the bill the Council had announced that God had shown by the defeat of the rebels how displeased He was with disobedience and rebellion.<sup>31</sup>

After reading the Council's letter Bonner returned to his text. He declared what aspects of prayer, which the two parables had shown to be the means of grace, were important. Men should come to church to pray more often and should bring humility, innocence, love of their neighbours and devotion of mind to their prayer. He exhorted men to come more often to communion. Thus far he had again followed the Council's order. But the Council's second

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30. B.M.: M.485/52, vol.198, ff.42v.-43, Foxe, op.cit., p.745.

31. B.M.: M.485/52, col.198, ff.44, 44v. P.R.O.: S.P., 10/8, f.68.

article had also ordered him to denounce the old rites. Instead, he gave an orthodox discourse on the sacrament of the altar. After the consecration by the mihister, he said, the bread became "the very trewe & / naturall body of o(u)<sup>r</sup> Savio(u)<sup>r</sup> Jesus Christ, y<sup>e</sup> selfe/ same bodey in substance that was given for us/ on the crosse, the selfe same bloud that was/ shede for us...".<sup>32</sup> Nor, in the last few minutes of his sermon did he refer to the other article which the Council had ordered him to include: that the authority of the king was not lessened if the king was a minor.

It is possible that Bonner, having been provoked by the Council's treatment, deliberately disobeyed their commands. On the other hand he may suddenly have been carried away into a discussion of the nature of the sacrament, and he may simply have forgotten to include the final article about the king's authority in his minority.

Whatever Bonner's intentions, he was soon called upon to answer for his statements. He was denounced<sup>33</sup> by John Hooper and William Latimer. Some of the bishop's contemporaries believed

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32. B.M.: M.485/52, vol.198, f.45v. When Foxe declared that Bonner "did spend most of his sermon about the gross, carnal, and papistical presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar", he exaggerated greatly.

33. Reg. Bon., f.221v. (Foxe, op.cit., pp.747-759). Foxe took the story of Bonner's trial from the Bishop's Register. The account in the Register is in two parts: the "Process", which included the documents Foxe cited, and the "Supplement" which contains some of the conversations Bonner had with the Commissioners.

that the Council had bribed Hooper and Latimer to denounce the bishop.<sup>34</sup> They themselves admitted that the Councillors had told them of the injunctions and articles which had been delivered to Bonner.<sup>35</sup> It is possible however that such a violent Reformer as Hooper<sup>36</sup> needed no inducement to denounce Bonner, and was happy to assist the Council in its campaign against the Bishop of London.

On 8 September a commission<sup>37</sup> was issued to Cranmer, Ridley, the two secretaries, Petre and Smith, and William May, the dean of St. Paul's. They were told of the orders the Council had given Bonner and of Hooper and Latimer's denunciation. The commissioners were to summon the bishop before them and to give the whole matter a full hearing. The first session took place in the "cha(m)bre of presence"<sup>38</sup> at Lambeth and the trial lasted for three weeks.

A great deal of argument took place during the trial: Bonner

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34. Sp.Cal., ix, p.453.

35. Foxe, op.cit., p.747.

36. When Hooper was created Bishop of Gloucester in 1551, he had a violent quarrel with Ridley, because he refused, at first, to wear vestments at his consecration. He was burnt in 1555. William Latimer was Master of St. Laurence Pountney: D.N.B., see above, chap.10, p.295 .

37. The draft of this commission is at P.R.O.: S.P.10/8, ff.105-106v. Reg. Bon., f.222 (Foxe, op.cit., pp.748-749). See also T.Rymer, Foedera, VI(iii), 1741, p.174, Wilkins, op.cit., iv, p.36, C.P.R., 1549-1551, p.166.

38. Reg. Bon., f.239.

was charged, and replied at length;<sup>39</sup> articles were twice presented to him<sup>40</sup> and he gave detailed answers.<sup>41</sup> On two occasions he submitted the witnesses called by the Commissioners to detailed questioning.<sup>42</sup> But Bonner himself did much to delay the course of his trial. He twice denied the jurisdiction of his judges,<sup>43</sup> and he also protested at the way they conducted the trial.<sup>44</sup> He angrily declared that in law he need not answer a second set of articles.<sup>45</sup> He made a particular point of the fact that Sir Thomas Smith had not attended the first session but had participated in the subsequent proceedings. The bishop claimed that if Smith were to be one of the commissioners he should in law have attended the first session.<sup>46</sup> Bonner's complaints had some effect, for, on

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39. Reg. Bon., f.236v. (Faxe, op.cit., p.751); Reg. Bon., f.222v. (Faxe, op.cit., pp.754-759).

40. A draft of the first set of articles is at P.R.O.: S.P.10/8, ff.107-108v. Reg. Bon., f.224v. (Faxe, op.cit., pp.762-763); Reg. Bon., ff.227-227v. (Faxe, op.cit., pp.778-779).

41. Reg. Bon., ff.225v.-226v. (Faxe, op.cit., pp.766-769); Reg. Bon. ff.228v.-229 (Faxe, op.cit., p.782).

42. Reg. Bon., ff.224v.-225v. (Faxe, op.cit., pp.770-772); Reg. Bon., ff.228-228v. (Faxe, op.cit., pp.780-781).

43. Reg. Bon., ff.222-222v. (Faxe, op.cit., p.751, note); Reg. Bon., ff.231-231v. (Faxe, op.cit., pp.788-789).

44. Reg. Bon., ff.226v.-227 (Faxe, op.cit., pp.774-775).

45. Reg. Bon., ff.228v.-229 (Faxe, op.cit., pp.782-783).

46. Reg. Bon., f.240 (Faxe, op.cit., pp.753-754).

17 September, a second commission was issued, authorizing the commissioners to proceed "ex officio" or by any other means, at their discretion.<sup>47</sup> As well as his more general complaints against the Commissioners Bonner directed a violent accusation against Sir Thomas Smith, his "notorouse and manifeste enemye".<sup>48</sup> Moreover, before the trial had ended, Bonner had appealed to the king three times.<sup>49</sup> Bonner's tactics delayed the course of his trial. He was rather proud of his legal skill; in one exchange with Smith he said "I knewe the lawe,/ ear you could reade it".<sup>50</sup> But his cleverness was to be his undoing.

In the denunciation of Hooper and Latimer the charge brought against Bonner was that in his sermon he had not upheld the king's authority in his minority.<sup>51</sup> On the first day of the trial Cranmer told him that this was "the speciall cause of the said co(m)plaint/ againste hym".<sup>52</sup> In both sets of articles which were presented for the bishop's reply, the major charge was his failure to uphold the

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47. Reg. Bon., ff.232v.-233 (Faxe, op.cit., pp.773-774). See also Rymer, op.cit., p.192, Wilkins, op.cit., p.37 C.P.R., loc.cit.

48. Reg. Bon., f.229 (Faxe, op.cit., p.783).

49. Reg. Bon., ff.229v.-230 (translation in Faxe, op.cit., pp.785-786); Reg. Bon., ff.231v.-p.232 (abstract in Faxe, op.cit. p.790) Reg. Bon., f.233 (partly printed in Faxe, op.cit., p.793).

50. Reg. Bon., f.240 (Faxe, op.cit. p.762).

51. Reg. Bon., f.221v. (Faxe, op.cit., p.747).

52. Reg. Bon., f.239v. (Faxe, op.cit., p.751).

king's authority.<sup>53</sup> During the course of the trial Cranmer repeated to Bonner that he had been summoned to answer for his disobedience to the Council's instructions.<sup>54</sup>

Bonner did not consider the question of the king's authority very important. He had not written his sermon out in full, but had simply made notes. He had shown these notes to two of his chaplains, Gilbert Bourn and John Harpsfield, and had asked them "to searche owte...the names of suche/kings as were in their minoritie whan they beganne to reigne". With his chaplains' help he made a list of youthful kings from the history of England and from the Old Testament "And all thees things I wolde have speciallie sette foorth in my said/ s(er)mon, yf they hadde com(m)yn(n) to my memory, as in dede they dyd not, p(ar)telie for disturbaunce of my memory not/ accustomed to preache in that place, p(ar)telie also by reason of a certayne wrytinge, that was sent to/me frome the kings maiesties privie Counsaill, being of good lengithe to declare to the people tow/chinge the victorie againste the Rebels. specially in Norff(olk) Dev(on)shire and Cornewall, confoundinge/ my memory in things, which before I hadde sette in good order, and p(ar)tely also for the fallinge/ awaye of my booke in the tyme of my said Sermon, in whiche weer conteyned dyverse of my/ said nootes, towching the kings maiesties minorytie, as ys aforesaide...".<sup>55</sup> Although

53. For references, see above, note 40.

54. Reg. Bon., f.240v. (Foxe, op.cit., p.765).

55. Reg. Bon., ff.225v.-226 (Foxe, op.cit., pp.767-768).

Bonner refused to answer the second set of articles fully he did confess and acknowledge "w(i)<sup>t</sup>(h) harte and mowthe the kings maiesties auctorytie and regall power in his minoritye/ aswell and full as in his maiorytie".<sup>56</sup>

Bonner believed that he had been summoned before the commissioners because of his views on the Holy Sacrament. On the first day of the trial he declared to Cranmer: "I perceyve that the cause of my troble/is, not for the mater that ye doo laye againste me, but it is, for that, I dydd preache and set fourthe in/ my sermon, the veretie and true presence of the moste blissed bodye and bloode of oure Savyo(u)<sup>r</sup> Jesue Christe/ to be in the sacrame(n)te of the Aultare".<sup>57</sup> Bonner continued in this belief.<sup>58</sup> In his first reply to the charge against him, he accused Hooper and Latimer of heresy.<sup>59</sup> On 20 September, the day of the fifth session, while talking to his chaplains, he declared that Christ's true body and blood were in the sacrament: "in that opinion I wyll lieff and dye, and am redy to suffre death for the same".<sup>60</sup>

Bonner was not condemned to death; indeed his theological views were not mentioned in his sentence. He was convicted of

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56. Reg. Bon., f.229 (Foxe, op.cit., p.782).

57. Reg. Bon., f.239v.(Foxe, op.cit., p.752).

58. Reg. Bon., f.238v. (Foxe, op.cit., p.767).

59. Reg. Bon., ff.222v.-223 (Foxe, op.cit., p.755).

60. Reg. Bon., f.241v. (Foxe, op.cit., p.785).

having disobediently omitted the article touching the king's minority from his sermon, and of having been extremely contumacious and disobedient during the commissioners' investigations,<sup>61</sup>

Bonner had little chance of securing a verdict in his favour, and he showed considerable courage and tenacity in his behaviour at the trial. His imprisonment from 20 September,<sup>62</sup> before sentence had been given, was one more indication that the result of the trial was almost a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless it is possible that he might have secured a pardon if he had conducted himself with restraint and had more humbly acknowledged his fault. Bonner would not make this concession. He may have seen himself as a martyr for the true faith. However, he did not consider that he should spend his martyrdom in prison. After he had been sentenced he twice appealed to the king from the Marshalsea.<sup>63</sup> He wrote to the Lord Chancellor and to the rest of the Privy Council on 7 October<sup>64</sup> and again on 26 October.<sup>65</sup> Despite rumours<sup>66</sup> that

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61. Reg. Bon., f.234v. (Foxe, op.cit., p.795, note).

62. Reg. Bon., f.241 (Foxe, op.cit., p.787).

63. Reg. Bon., f.239 (Foxe, op.cit., pp.795-796); Reg. Bon., ff.232-232v. (abstract printed in Foxe, op.cit., pp.797-798).

64. Reg. Bon., ff.234v.-235 (Foxe, op.cit., pp.793, 794).

65. Reg. Bon., f.235 (Foxe, op.cit., p.797). In 1876 a contemporary copy of Bonner's letter of 26 October to the Chancellor and the council was noted as being among the Lechmere Manuscripts, but this letter is now lost: Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifth Report, Appendix, "The Manuscripts of Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bart., of Rydd Court, Upton-on-Severn, Worcestershire", ed. A.J.Horwood, 1876, p.300.

66. N.Pocock, ed., Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549, Camden Society, n.s., xxxvii, 1884, p.83; Sp.Cal., IX, p.458; Robinson, ed., op.cit., i, p.69.



Bonner would benefit from the change of government which occurred in October 1549, his appeals were of no avail. In the following February his sentence of deprivation was confirmed by the Privy Council.<sup>67</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

No evidence has survived that during the first thirty years of his life Bonner's constancy was in any way tested as it was between 1530 and 1549. In his early years he was struggling to acquire professional qualifications and a patron. If, during his life, Bonner had not been faced with the problems of religious change and upheaval, he might be remembered simply as an ambitious and able ecclesiastic.

Bonner, was, however, faced with these issues. Until middle age he seems to have paid little attention to doctrinal questions and to have accepted the prevailing opinions with an apparently

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67. A.P.C., 1547-1550, pp.385-386; W.D.Hamilton, ed., A Chronicle of England... By Charles Wriothesley, ii, Camden Society, n.s., xx, 1877, p.33. The instrument declaring why Bonner's appeal ought not to stand, signed by Rich, Wiltshire, Northampton, Dorset, Warwick, the Bishop of Ely, Wentworth, Wingfield, Herbert, Wotton, Montague, Baker, John Oliver, Leyson, and Gosnold is included in the Register: Reg. Bon., ff.235v.-236 (Foxe, op.cit., pp.798-799, note), as are also the writ of certiorari, dated 5 February, 4 Edward VI, to the royal commissioners that they should transmit the sentence of deprivation to Chancery and the Commissioners' certificates to the king in Chancery, dated 8 February: Reg. Bon., ff. 235-235v. (Foxe, op.cit., pp.799-800).

easy conscience. It is possible that in 1536 when he subscribed to the Ten Articles, and in 1538 when he helped and encouraged the publishers of the Great Bible, he had not fully thought out his religious position. But ambition, as well as fear and ignorance, may have determined his actions in those years. Only in conformity could a clever man hope for success and Bonner's preferments were numerous and profitable.

On the other hand, although in the 1530s Bonner was quite prepared to pursue the government's revolutionary and Erastian policies, he never identified himself completely with the Reformers. To a "scholarship boy" well established in the government's service their ideas may have seemed to threaten the society in which he had, with some difficulty, achieved a certain power and position.

Bonner could be sly and ruthless: a squeamish man would not have co-operated so well in the plot to trap Dr. Adams. He was probably a physical coward: although he declared dramatically at his trial in 1549 that he would welcome death, he had been too frightened in 1535 to accompany Cavendish to the Duke of Holstein. Nor was he a man of tact or subtlety. Not only did he, perhaps deliberately, infuriate his judges in 1549, but he was appallingly rude to Francis I in 1540. He was quarrelsome and greedy: he staged some of his arguments to please Cromwell, but some resulted from his anxiety to reap all possible profit from his benefices, if

necessary by taking legal action against his acquaintances and tenants. Even in that age of litigation Bonner was probably unusual in the frequency with which he took his quarrels to the law courts.

In early manhood Bonner had been capable of a certain loyalty to his friends and to those who had helped him. As Bishop of London he remembered his old friends and servants when distributing offices and leases. Yet his defection from Cromwell in 1540 was not perhaps surprising to those who remembered his quarrel with Thomas Wynter.

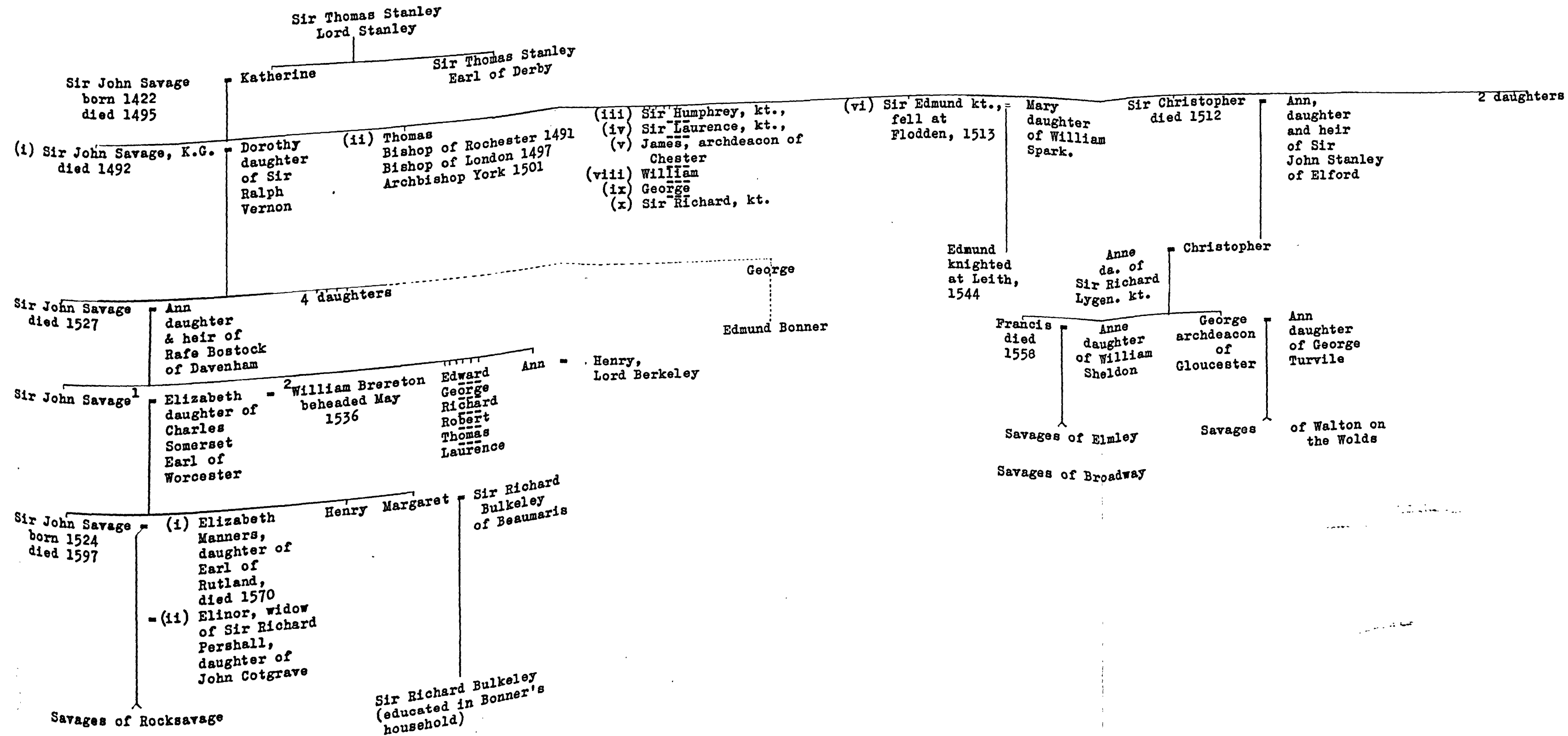
If Bonner was indeed a bastard, the insecurity of his childhood and youth may have fired his ambition. Even born in wedlock, a clever boy educated on charity might have suffered slights and injustices because of his poverty. Insecurity may explain his tactlessness, quarrelsomeness and desperate anxiety for preferment. It is also possible that he adopted the catholic view of the mass, and maintained it despite deprivation and imprisonment, because only in traditional and established doctrine could he find order and security.

Bonner's behaviour in the reign of Mary, and his clever exchanges with men who would burn for their opposition to the Eucharistic doctrine he espoused, were not a sudden departure from the personality he had already revealed. Bonner had a much more complex character than his adversaries saw. But it is true that

he had never shown much pity or gentleness. He was a coarse, clever man, in whose many-sided nature were the traits which fitted him tragically well for the rôle he was to be called on to play.

## Appendices

# The Savage Family



This pedigree had been compiled from G.F.S. - Armstrong, The Ancient and Noble Family of the Savages of the Ards, 1888, pp.15-70. A 16c. pedigree of the family can be found in J.P.Rylands, The Visitation of Cheshire in the year 1580, Harleian Society, xviii, 1882, pp.203-204. For Christopher Savage of Elmley Castle and his descendants see especially E.A.B.Barnard, The Savages of Broadway, Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society for 1933, New ser., x, 1934, pp.43-44 and W.P.W.Phillimore, The Visitation of the County of Worcester made in the year 1569, Harleian Society, xxvii, 1888, pp.124-125.

Bonner's pedigree

Right Begotten

De celibatu' et de votis

S<sup>r</sup> JOHN SAVAGE Knight of the/  
Garter & of the Privy Counsell/  
was slain at Bolleyn when king/  
Henry the 7<sup>th</sup> laid siege to it/.

Base Begotten

Had issue a bastard

S<sup>r</sup> JOHN SAVAGE Knight who/ had  
in Recompence given him/ for the  
death of his ffather y<sup>e</sup>/ Erle of  
Warwicks Lands in/ Worcestresh. and  
was high/ Sheriff by Inheritance

GEORGE SAVAGE Priest Parson  
of/ Dunham in Dunham begatt  
these/ 7 bastards by 3 sundry  
women &/ was a bastard him-  
selfe as may/ appeare.<sup>3</sup>

S<sup>r</sup> Jo. Savage 4  
Knt. who slew  
a/ Gent. named  
Mr. Pauncefoot and/  
dyed prisoner in  
the Tower for/ y<sup>e</sup>  
same act.<sup>1</sup>

George Savage  
Priest chan-/  
celor of  
Chester/<sup>5</sup>  
bastard.<sup>5</sup>

Elizabeth  
3d/ base da.  
mar./ to<sup>6</sup>  
Gentlem.

Ellen  
2d base/  
da mar  
to a/<sup>7</sup>  
Gent.

EDMUND BONNER  
was 1 Arch-/  
deacon of/  
Leicest'r &  
after/ twise  
Bishop of/ London  
& third/ hope  
but god/ cutt him  
short/ & was  
buried/ like a  
doge.<sup>11</sup>

John Winslowe/  
Archdeacon of/  
Middlesex dead/  
& gone/ a  
bastard<sup>8</sup>

Randall  
Savage  
of Lodge/  
a bastard  
9

Margaret  
1 base/ da.  
marr. to a  
Gent.<sup>10</sup>

S<sup>r</sup> Jo. Savage Knt who might/  
dispend 1500<sup>l</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> yeare by  
his/ rents & other revenues hee  
dyed/ in December 1597 & lyes  
buryed at Maxfeild.<sup>2</sup>

This pedigree is taken from B.M. Harleian Ms. 1424 f.134, printed by  
J.P. Rylands, Visitation of Cheshire in the year 1580, Harleian Society,  
xviii, 1882, p.205. Another copy of this pedigree is in B.M. Cotton,  
Tib. E. viii, ff.176v.-177.

The following additions and alternative readings are from the other  
pedigrees of Bonner in P.R.O. S.P. 12/8, f.41, Inner Temple, Petyt Ms.  
538/47, f.4, Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 836, ff.749-750, and the pedigree  
printed from "Ant. Wood's MSS in the Ashmolean Museum" by T.R. Nash,  
Collections for the History of Worcestershire, 1781, p.385.

1. Mr. Pauncefoote "a gentleman of glocestershire/ & lost all his  
inherita(n)c / in Wurcestershire & was/ long prisoner in the/  
towre": P.R.O., S.P., 12/8, f.41.

(2) "now lyving and dwelling in Ches/ hire": P.R.O., S.P. 12/8. f.41. See also,  
Inner Temple: Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.4.

(3) "had issue al/ these bastardes herafter/ foloing by thre sundry/ women, mens  
doghters/ of the cuntrye": P.R.O., S.P. 12/8, f.41. "Sr. Jhon savage priest/  
person of Danham in leicester/shere,...": Inner Temple, Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.4.  
"George Savage, rector of Davenham Cheshire", mention is made of two women, Bon-  
ner's mother being also described as the mother of George Savage's three  
daughters: Nash, loc.cit.

(4) "Elizabeth/ Barklay mother to/ my lord Barklay y<sup>t</sup>/ now is, and she ys/ yet  
lyving in glocest(e)<sup>r</sup>/shire": P.R.O. S.P. 12/8, f.41. See also Inner Temple:  
Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.4.

(5) "George Wimesley": Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.4. "chancelor of west/ Chester when/  
quene Marye/ died: P.R.O., S.P., 12/8, f.41.

(6) Married to "Clayton/ of Thelwall": ibid. Married to "one Goldenstoak in  
Cheshire": Inner Temple: Petyt Ms. 538/46, f.4. "Elizabeth/ Savage alias/  
Wymesley wedid/ to one goldenstake/ of Cheshere": Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 836,  
ff.749-750.

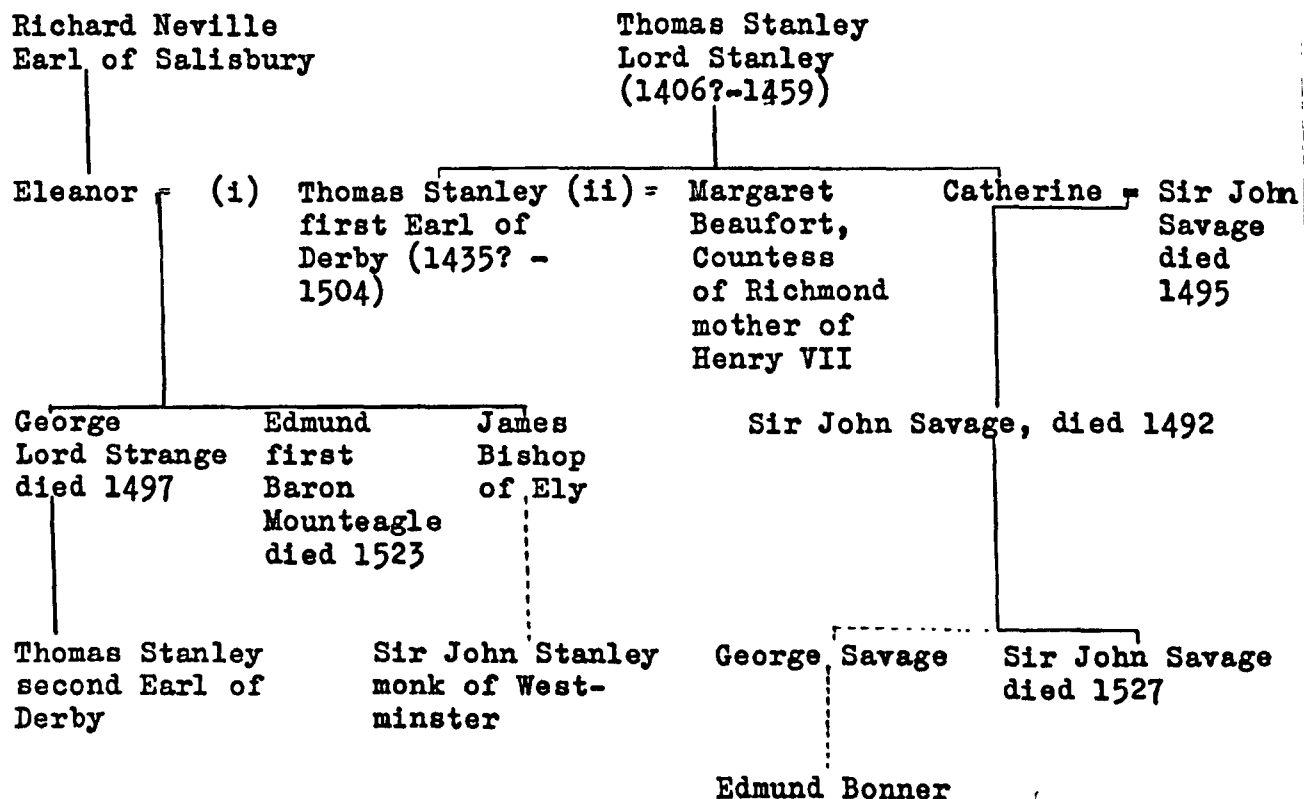
(7) "Helin/ was married/ to one called/ mr. colsonfocke/ in Chesshire": P.R.O., S.P.  
12/8, f.41. "Helene married to one Hays of Litley in y<sup>e</sup> countrey of/  
Chessire": Inner Temple: Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.4. See also Bodleian, Ashmole  
Ms. 836, ff.749-750.

(8) "p(ar)son/ Wymslow late/ archdeacon of/ midlesex & dwel/led in pater n(os)ter/  
rowe & he was p(ar)son of Torplay/ and is dead": P.R.O., S.P. 12/8, f.41.  
"Savage alias wimsley, archdeacon of London and/ middlesex...": Inner Temple:  
Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.4. "Savage/ alias Wymesley/ after his mother...":  
Bodleian: Ashmole Ms. 836, ff.749-750. "John Wymesley...": Nash,  
op.cit.

(9) "who is/ yet lyving ther": P.R.O., S.P. 12/8, f.41.

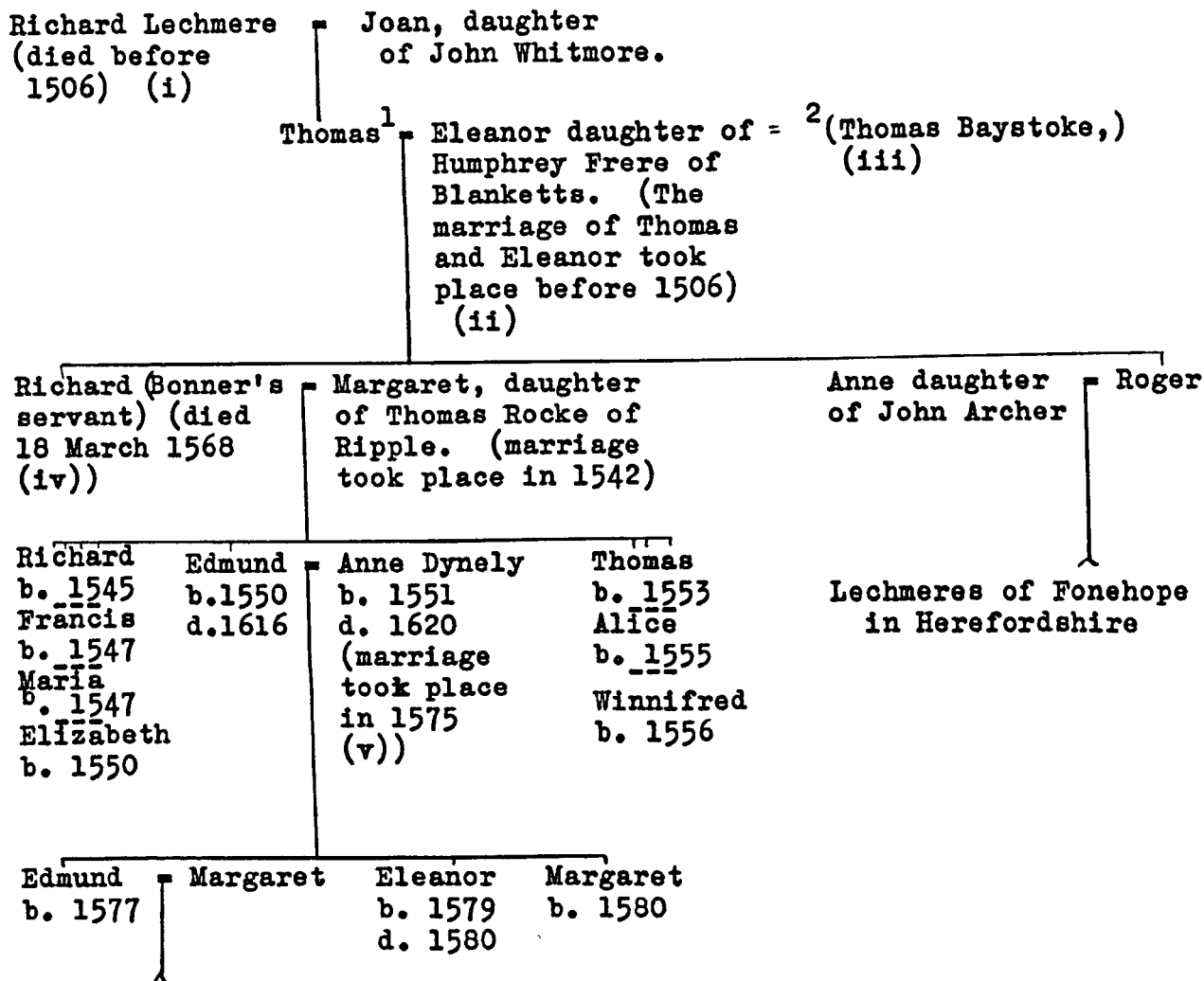
(10) "married/ to one Heyes/ of Lysley": P.R.O., S.P. 12/8, f.41. "married to  
Claidon of ye Wall in Chesshire": Inner Temple: Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.4, and  
Bodleian: Ashmole Ms. 836, ff.749-750.

(11) "Edmunde boner al(ia)s Sav/age first p(ar)son of Dan/ham ye dane of  
Lecest(e)r/ and twise bisshop of/ London, & the thirde/ tyme looketh to be  
yff/ he may come owt/ at libertie": P.R.O., S.P. 12/8, f.41. "Of this  
Edmund Boner came D.Darbishire/ chauncellor as ye fame talketh". Inner  
Temple: Petyt Ms. 538/47, f.4.

Appendix iii.Bonner's possible relationship to Sir John Stanley

This pedigree is compiled from the biographies of Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby and of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely in the D.N.B., and from G. Ormerod, The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester, T.Helsby ed., i, 1882, pp.713-715.



Appendix iv.The Lechmere Family

This pedigree is based on that printed by T.W.Wood, "The Lechmere Family, and their Ancient Seat, Severn End, with the Family Pedigree", Worcestershire Diocesan Archaeological and Architectural Society, Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers, xx(1), 1889, p.126, with additions from the following sources:

- (i) Lechmere, Box 77, Bundle 1500-1506, deed of 21 May 1506.
- (ii) Lechmere, Box 77, Bundle 1500-1506, deed of 11 June 1506.
- (iii) P.R.O.: C.1/1022/31-32.
- (iv) A.T.Butler, ed., The Visitation of Worcestershire, 1634, Harleian Society, xc, 1938, p.59.
- (v) ibid.

Appendix v.List of Letters and Memoranda, concerning Bonner's embassy to Denmark and Hamburg 1535-1536, in B.M.: Add. Ms. 48036 (Yelverton 40).Bonner's letters

1535

21 September	Bonner to Dr. Adams, draft	f.184.
26 September	Bonner and Cavendish to Dr. Adams draft in English copy in Latin	f.186. f.183.
2 October	Notes in Bonner's hand	ff.35a-35b.
2 October	Bonner and Cavendish to Henry VIII corrected copy	ff.37-45.
2 October	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell draft	f.49. f.182.
c. 7 October	Bonner to Dr. Adams, draft	
24 October	Bonner and Cavendish to Henry VIII draft	ff.51-59. f.169c. f.173a, v.
?? November	Fragment in Bonner's hand	
? November	Notes in Bonner's hand	
10 November	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell copy	f.60.
27 November	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell draft copy	f.61. f.77.
27 November	Bonner and Cavendish to Henry VIII draft	ff.63-75v. f.80.
?	Notes in Bonner's hand	
2 December	Bonner and Cavendish to Henry VIII draft	ff.94-94v.
8 December	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell draft	ff.82-85v.
c.8 December	Bonner and Cavendish to Henry VIII draft	ff.91-93v.
18 December	Bonner and Cavendish to Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, draft	f.95.
1536		
3 January	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell copy	ff.86-89.
27 January	Bonner and Cavendish to Henry VIII, copy	ff.98-100v.
27 January	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell copy	ff.101-103v.
29 January	Bonner and Cavendish to Henry VIII copy	ff.104-105v.

1536		
29 January	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell copy	ff.106-108v.
?	Bonner to Dr. Adams, with note by Dr. Adams	f.161a.
31 January	Note of things sent by Bonner to the Bishop of Hereford, in Bonner's hand	f.110a.
31 January	Bonner and Cavendish to the Bishop of Hereford, corrected copy	ff.110-112v.
6 February	"Considerationes circa ar(ticu)los/ nobis traditos", in Bonner's hand	f.202a.
15 February	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell corrected copy	ff.114-114v.
16 February	Bonner, Cavendish and Bernhard à Mela to Henry VIII, in Bonner's hand. Latin draft	ff.116-116v.
21 February	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell copy	ff.118-118v.
26 February	Bonner and Cavendish to Henry VIII copy	f.120.
26 February	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell copy	f.122..
8 March	Bonner and Cavendish to Cromwell corrected copy	f.124.
11 March	Bonner and Cavendish to the Bishop of Hereford, corrected copy	ff.126-127v.
13 March	Bonner and Cavendish to the Bishop of Hereford, corrected copy	ff.128-128v.
20 March	Bonner and Cavendish to the Bishop of Hereford, copy	f.130.

#### Cromwell's Letters

1535		
23 July	Cromwell to Bonner	f.36
(printed by R.B.Merriman, <u>Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell</u> , 1902, 1, p.412).		
20 September	Cromwell to Dr. Adams	ff.161-162.
(see Appendix vi).		

Dr. Adams' Letters

1535

27 July	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.131a.
3 September	Dr. Adams to Bonner and Cavendish	f.131b.
23 September	Dr. Adams to Bonner and Cavendish	ff.133-136.
? September	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.137a.
mid-September	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.132.
20 August to		
26 September	"Acta per me Ada. Pacaeu"	ff.143-150v.
? September	Dr. Adams to Cromwell, corrected copy	ff.138-139v. ff.140-140v.
3 October	Dr. Adams to Bonner	
11 October	Memorandum from Dr. Adams and Bernhard à Mela to Henry VIII, copy	ff.163-169v.
? October	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.169a.
14 October	Notes made by Dr. Adams	f.169b.
3 November	Dr. Adams to Henry VIII, copy	ff.141-142.
7 November	Dr. Adams to Bonner and Cavendish	ff.170-171v.
? November	Dr. Adams to Bonner	ff.172-173.
? November	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.173a.
? November	Dr. Adams to Bonner	ff.174-174v.
?	Dr. Adams to Bonner	ff.176-176v.
?	Note of Articles of faith sent to the Elector of Saxony, in Dr. Adams' hand.	f.176a.
?	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.176b.

1536

c.18 January	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.156.
January	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.157.
22 January	Notes of a conversation between Dr. Adams, Bonner and Cavendish, in Dr. Adams' hand.	f.160.
c.22 January	Dr. Adams to Bonner	ff.179 -180.
? January	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.181.
?	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.155.
31 January	Dr. Adams to Bonner, with note by Bonner	f.160b.
? January	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.160c.
c.14 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.158.
14 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.192.
c.14 February	Memorandum sent by Bonner, Cavendish Bernhard à Mela, to Henry VIII via Dr. Adams, Draft in Dr. Adams' hand	ff.193-202.
c.15 February	Bonner Cavendish and Bernhard à Mela to Henry VIII, in Dr. Adams' hand	f.159.

1536

16 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.187a.
17 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner and Cavendish	f.187b.
17 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.187c.
17 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.187d.
19 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	ff.188-189v.
22 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.189a.
22 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.189b.
23 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.190.
25 February	Dr. Adams to Bonner	f.191.

Other letters

1535		
12 September	(Bernhard à Mela) to Cromwell	ff.152-154.
25 September	Bernhard à Mela to Bonner and Cavendish	f.137.
1536		
12 March	Dr. Aepinus to Bonner	f.203.

**PUBLISHED  
PAPERS NOT  
INCLUDED**

Appendix vii

1. Manors belonging to the Bishop of London in 1540 (Valor, i, pp. 356-357, G.L.Ms. 10123/3, passim)

Essex.

Braintree (farm)  
 Copford (bailiff  
                   with farms)  
 Clacton (bailiff)  
 Clackingwick (farm)  
 Estwick (farm)  
 Wikeham (farmer &  
                   bailiff)  
 Southminster (farm)  
 Chelmsford (farm)  
 Orsett (farmer &  
                   bailiff)  
 Lyndon (bailiff with  
                   farms)  
 Malden (fee farm)

Hertfordshire.

Hadham (bailiff  
                   with farms)  
 Stortford (farmer  
                   & bailiff)  
 Broxbourne  
                   rectory (farm)

Middlesex.

Stepney (bailiff)  
 Hackney (bailiff)  
 Fulham (farmer &  
                   bailiff)  
 Ealing (farmer &  
                   bailiff)  
 Harringay (bailiff)  
 Wormeholt (farm)  
 Finchley (bailiff)  
 Sondebury (farm)

Surrey.

Stoke (farm)

Sussex.

Lodsworth (farm)

24 manors and 1 rectory.

11 farms, 9 bailiwicks in 3 of which the bailiff collected rents from farmers as well as from free and customary tenants, 5 manors in which both a farmer and a bailiff rendered accounts to the Receiver-General.

2. Manors belonging to the Bishop of London in December 1545. (Alterations from L.P. XX(ii).496(13) and P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw. VI/306, passim.)

<u>Essex.</u>	<u>Hertfordshire.</u>	<u>Middlesex.</u>	<u>Surrey</u>
Braintree (farm)	Hadham (bailiff with farms)	Stepney (bailiff)	Stoke
Copford (bailiff with farms)	Stortford (farmer & bailiff)	Hackney (bailiff)	(farm)
Wikeham (bailiff with farms)	Broxbourne rectory (farm)	Fulham (farmer & bailiff)	
Southminster (farm)		Ealing (farmer & bailiff)	
Orsett (bailiff with farms)		Harringay (farmer & bailiff)	
Layndon (bailiff with farms)		Wormeholt (farm)	
Malden (fee farm)		Finchley (bailiff)	
		Sondebury (farm)	
<u>Hereford.</u>	<u>Gloucester.</u>	<u>Worcestershire.</u>	
Fonehope (bailiff with farm)	Swell (bailiff with farm)	Bushley (bailiff with farm)	
		Ridmerley (bailiff)	

22 manors and 1 rectory.

7 farms, 12 bailiwicks in 8 of which bailiffs collected rents from farmers as well as from free and customary tenants, 4 manors in which both a farmer and a bailiff rendered accounts to the Receiver General.

As well as changes because of Bonner's exchange and gift in 1545, 3 manors, Wikeham, Orsett and Harringay had changed the form of their administration by 1545.



3. Manors belonging to the Bishop of London (Alterations from C.P.R.  
in May 1550 1549-1551, and P.R.O.:  
S.C.6/Ph&M./193, passim)

<u>Essex.</u>	<u>Hertfordshire.</u>	<u>Middlesex.</u>	<u>Surrey.</u>
Copford (bailiff with farm)	Hadham (bailiff with farms)	Fulham (farmer & bailiff)	Stoke (farm)
Wikeham (bailiff with farm)	Stortford (farmer & bailiff)	Ealing (farmer & bailiff)	
Orsett (bailiff with farms)	Broxbourne rectory (farm)	Harringay (farmer & bailiff)	
Malden (fee farm)	Ashwell (bailiff)	Wormeholt (farm)	
Fanton (farm)	Ashwell rectory (farm)	Finchley (bailiff)	
Fering (farmer & bailiff)	Dacheworth (with bailiff of	Sondebury (farm)	
Kelvedon (farmer & hail- rectory) iff)	Stevenage)	Amewell (with Greenford)	
	Holwell (with bailiff of	Drayton (farm)	
	Stevenage)	Greenford (bailiff with farms)	
	Rickmansworth (bailiff with farms)	Paddington paddington (farm)	
	Rickmansworth rectory (farm)	rectory )	
	Stevenage (farmer & bailiff)	Uxbridge (farm)	
	Tadwell (with bailiff of Stevenage)		
<u>Gloucestershire.</u>	<u>Herefordshire.</u>	<u>Worcestershire.</u>	<u>Warwick shire.</u>
Swelle (bailiff with farms)	Fonehope (bailiff with farms)	Bushley (bailiff with farms)	Knoll (bailiff
		Ridmerley (bailiff)	with farms)

33 manors and 5 rectories.

11 farms, 14 bailiwicks in 11 of which the bailiff collected rents from farmers as well as from free and customary tenants, 7 manors in which both a farmer and a bailiff rendered accounts to the Receiver-General.

4. Manors belonging to the Bishop of London in P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./  
September 1560 1458)

<u>Essex.</u>	<u>Hertfordshire.</u>	<u>Middlesex</u>	<u>Worcestershire.</u>
Wikeham	Hadham	Fulham	Bushley
Layndon	Stortford	Ealing	
Fering	Rickmansworth	Wormeholt	
Kelvedon	rectory	Finchley	
Kelvedon	Broxbourne	Harringay	
rectory	rectory	Greenford	
Fanton	Ashwell	Amewell	
	Ashwell	Drayton	
	rectory	Paddington	
	Stevenage	Paddington	
	Holwell	rectory	
	Tadwell		
	Dachworth with		
	Pancrash.		

22 manors and five rectories.

5. Manors belonging to the Bishop of London in P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./  
September 1561 1462)

<u>Essex.</u>	<u>Hertfordshire.</u>	<u>Middlesex.</u>	<u>Worcestershire.</u>
Wikeham	Hadham	Fulham	Bushley
Layndon	Stortford	Ealing	
Fering	Rickmansworth	Wormeholt	
Kelvedon	rectory	Finchley	
Kelvedon	Broxbourne	Harringay	
rectory	rectory	Greenford	
Dunmowe	Ashwell	Amewell	
rectory	Ashwell	Drayton	
Westhorsfield	rectory	Paddington	
rectory	Stevenage	Paddington	
Witham with	Holwell	rectory	
Cressing	Dachworth with	Eastbedfount	
rectory	Pancrash	rectory	
	Tadwell	Hoston	
		rectory	

22 manors and 10 rectories.

Appendix viii.(i) Net Payments to the Bishop of London's Receiver-General.

<u>Manor</u>	<u>1526/1527</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>1549/1550</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>1555/1556</u> <sup>3</sup>
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Ashwell	-	35.13. 0.	39. 0. 0.
Broxbourne	10.10. 0.	10.10. 0.	10.10. 0.
Bushley	-	23.17. 1.	25. 6. 9.
Copford	43. 9. 9.	45.14. 1.	50. 5. 8.
Drayton	-	13.12. 3.	9. 6. 8.
Ealing	{ 54.10. 2. 13. 0. 0.	45. 5. 6. 13. 6. 8.	40.13. 4. 13. 6. 8.
Fanton	-	27. 6. 8.	27. 6. 8.
Fonehope	-	21.10. 5.	20.13. 0.
Fering	-	65. 9. 0.	{ 32.11. 8. 25. 4.10.
Finchley	4. 6. 8.	2. 7. 3.	6. 0. 9.
Fulham	{ 51. 7. 5. 17. 5.11.	{ 61. 7.10. 26. 1. 2.	{ 56. 0. 3. 5. 9. 1.
(mill)	{ 1.18. 0.	{ -	{ -
Greenford with Anewell	-	21.12. 2.	24. 6. 8.
Hadham	65.12. 6.	44. 0. 8.	62.12. 1.
Harringay	52.13.11.	{ 5. 2. 7. 54.15. 4.	{ 4.17. 8. 54.15. 4.
Kelvedon with rectory	-	15.19. 4.	15.13. 4.}
Knoll	-	56.14. 8.	10. 8. 2.} <sup>4</sup>
Layndon	34. 9. 4.	26.10. 0.	58.12. 6.
London	-	55.12. 0.	36.18. 6.
St. Paul's	12.16. 7.	8.13. 9.	52.15. 7.
Malden	{ 6.13. 4.} <sup>5</sup>	6.13. 4.	20. 9. 0.
Orsett	{ 54.12. 0. 20. 0. 0.	75.13. 7.	6.13. 4.} <sup>6</sup>
Paddington with rectory	-	41. 6. 8.	102. 8. 0.
Ridmerley	-	27.12. 6.	41. 6. 8.
Rickmansworth	-	{ 52.14. 1. 7. 0. 0.	50.10. 0.
rectory	-	16. 0. 0.	85.15. 7.
Sondebury	14. 6. 8.	27. 0. 0.	27. 0. 0.
Stevenage	{ -	14. 0. 0.	13. 6. 0.
with Holwell & Dachworth	{ -	36. 3. 9.	39.18. 1.
Stoke	15. 6. 8.	15. 6. 8.	15. 6. 8.

<u>Manor.</u>	<u>1526/1527</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>1549/1550</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>1555/1556</u> <sup>3</sup> <sup>473</sup>
Stortoford	{ 26. 0.10. 6. 7. 2.	25. 4. 4.	20.18. 0.
Swelle	-	38. 4. 8.	37.18. 1.
Uxbridge	-	4. 0. 0.	4. 0. 0.
Wormeholt	{ 14.13. 4. 7.10.10.	14.13. 4.	14.13. 4.
Wikeham	{ 12.14.11.	31. 5. 0.	30.12. 4.
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		£1095.13. 4.	£1184.10.10.

- Notes: 1. G.L.Ms. 10123/3 passim.
2. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.VI/306 passim.
3. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194 passim.
4. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193: this figure is given as £42.
5. This figure is not given in the main account, but at f.32.
6. This figure includes a fine of £20.

Appendix viii.(ii) Alterations in Net Income

<u>Manor.</u>	<u>1527-1556</u> £. s. d.	<u>1527-1550</u> £. s. d.	<u>1550-1556</u> £. s. d.
Ashwell	-	-	+ 3. 7. 0.
Broxbourne	no change	no change	no change
Bushley	-	-	+ 1. 9. 8.
Copford	+ 6.15.11.	+ 2. 4. 4.	+ 4.11. 7.
Drayton	-	-	- 4. 5. 7.
Ealing	- 13.16.10.	- 9. 4. 8.	- 4.12. 2.
	+ 6. 8.	+ 6. 8.	no change
Fanton	-	-	no change
Fonehope	-	-	- 17. 5.
Fering	-	-	- 7.12. 6.
Finchley	+ 1.14. 1.	- 1.19. 5.	+ 3.13. 6.
Fulham	- 9. 2. 0.	+ 16.17. 8.	- 25.19. 8.
(mill)			
Greenford	-	-	+ 2.14. 6.
with Amewell			
Hadham	- 3. 0. 5.	- 21.11.10.	+ 18.11. 5.
Harringay	+ 6.19. 1.	+ 7. 4. 0.	- 4.11.
Kelvedon	-	-	+ 10. 2. 2.
with rectory			
Knoll	-	-	+ 1.17.10.
Layndon	+ 2. 9. 2.	- 7.19. 4.	+ 12. 8. 6.
London	-	-	- 2.16. 5.
St. Paul's	+ 7.12. 5.	- 4. 2.10.	+ 11.15. 3.
Malden	no change	no change	no change
Orsett	+ 27.16. 0.	+ 1. 1. 7.	+ 26.14. 5.
Paddington	-	-	no change
with rectory			
Ridmerley	-	-	+ 22.17. 6.
Rickmansworth	-	-	+ 10. 1. 6.
rectory	-	-	no change
Sondebury	- 1. 0. 8.	- 6. 8.	- 14. 0.
Stevenage			
with Holwell	-	-	+ 3.14. 4.
& Dachworth			
Stoka	no change	no change	no change
Stortford	- 11.10. 0.	- 7. 3. 8.	- 4. 6. 4.
Swelle	-	-	- 6.10.
Uxbridge	-	-	no change
Wormeholt	no change	no change	no change
Wikeham	+ 10. 6. 7.	+ 11. 9. 3.	- 12. 8.

1)

2)

3)

- 1) Total change in net income 1527-1556 from the sixteen properties held continuously from 1527:  
+ £25.10.0, or excluding the £20 fine at Orsett in 1556:  
+ £ 5.10.0.
- 2) Total change in net income 1527-1550 from the sixteen properties held continuously: from 1527:  
- £13. 4.11.
- 3a) Total change in net income 1550-1556 from the sixteen properties held continuously from 1527:  
+ £41. 4.11, or excluding the £20 fine at Orsett in 1556:  
+ £21. 4.11.
- 3b) Total change in net income from all properties of the Bishopric, 1550-1556:  
+ £80.10.10, or excluding the £20 fine at Orsett in 1556:  
+ £60.10.10.

Appendix ix.Bonner's Leases

1. 20 December 1539 Bonner leased lands (c.155 acres), including a close called "berryfelde (c.40 acres), in parish of Harringay alias Hornsey, late in the tenure of Nicholas Pynchyn, citizen and butcher, and land in Muswell Hill, to Thomas Serle and Richard Lechmere to hold from Michaelmas 1539 for 50 years at £12p.a.  
(Reg. Bon., ff.23-23v.)
2. 20 May 1540 Bonner leased the Great Park of Harringay alias Hornsey, meadow in Finchley and tenements in Highgate to Thomas Serle and Richard Lechmere to hold from Michaelmas 1539 for 50 years at £13.8.8 p.a., and in the same indenture made them keepers of the park of Harringay alias Hornsey and of Finchley wood for a fee of £3.6.8. p.a.  
(Reg. Bon., ff.23v.-24. See also the indenture of 1575 between Richard Bourne and Edmund Lechmere: Lechmere, Box 178, first bundle).
3. 20 September 1540 Bonner leased Millfield (26 acres) and Depemeadow (1 acre) in Copford to George Littlebury of Copford for 21 years at £1.6.8 p.a.  
(lease cited in Particular for Lease (Augmentations), 1562: P.R.O.: E.310/13/41, f.22).
4. 20 November 1540 Bonner leased the windmill and one croft in Orsett to Thomas Johnson for 21 years at £2.13.4 p.a.  
(lease cited in Receiver-General's account roll for 1555-1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.2-m.2d.)
5. 20 November 1540 Bonner leased land (c.50 acres) in Hadham, late in the tenure of Richard Adam to John Adam of Stondon for 21 years at £1.2.0. p.a.  
(ibid., m.6).

6. 20 November 1540 Bonner leased land (c.30 acres), in Hadham, late in the tenure of John Wilshire, to Richard Sandford, for 21 years at 16/8 p.a. (ibid., m.5d).
7. 20 November 1540 Bonner leased land (c.18 acres) in Hadham, late in the tenure of John Heynes, senior, to John Heynes, junior, for 21 years for 16/6 p.a. (ibid.)
8. 20 November 1540 Bonner leased wood in Hadham, late in the tenure of Mary Dalton to John Heynes, for 21 years at 5/6 p.a. (ibid., m.6).
9. 20 November 1540 Bonner leased land (c.42 acres) in Hadham, late in the tenure of William Dawe, William Smyth, Thomas Pennell and Mary Dalton to Robert Jacob, for 21 years at £1.4.6 p.a. (ibid., m.5d.)
10. 20 November 1540 Bonner leased land called "le Dane cantman" in Hadham, late in the tenure of Thomas Moore, to John Moore for 21 years at 8/- p.a. (ibid.)
11. 20 November 1540 Bonner leased land in Hadham to Richard Rawlins for 21 years at 13/8 p.a. (ibid.)
12. Before 19 November 1541 Bonner leased land (c.167 acres), including Beryfield (c.60 acres), probably in Harringay alias Hornsey to Thomas Staunton. (lease cited, no details, in Chancery case: P.R.O.: C.I/1055/36).
13. 20 May 1541 Bonner leased the farm of the parsonage of Broxbourne in Hertfordshire to John Moryce alias Glover, Johanne his wife and Thomas Parsons alias Fayrbrother from 25 March 1541 for 50 years at £10.10.0 p.a. This grant did not include a lease of the advowson. (Reg. Bon., f.22v.)
14. 10 October 1541 Bonner leased tenements in Pater Noster Row London to William Mountjoy (lease cited, no details, in William Mountjoy's will, 1584: P.C.C., 41 Brundenell. Lease had some years to run in 1584).



15. 20 December 1541 Bonner leased the manor of Copford Hall to Philip and Margaret Mountjoy and to William Mountjoy for 50 years at £6.4.2 p.a. (lease cited in the Receiver-General's account roll for 1555-1556; where the grant is cited as being to Philip and Margaret Mountjoy. In William Mountjoy's will Bonner's lease of the same date to William is cited: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.1, P.C.C., 41 Brundenell).
  
16. 14 February 1544 Bonner leased the farm of Wikeham Hall to Thomas Staunton for 60 years at £22.8.0 p.a. (lease cited in Receiver-General's account roll for 1555-1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.2).
  
17. 20 February 1544 Bonner leased 75 acres of lands and meadow of the demesne in Fulham to William Holden for 35 years at £8.7.0 p.a. (ibid., m.11.)
  
18. 12 May 1544 Bonner leased the manor of Stortford to Philip Mountjoy, Margaret his wife, William Mountjoy and Thomas Parsons for 50 years at £40 p.a. (ibid., m.6d.)
  
19. n.d. Bonner leased Southmill at Stortford to Thomas Parsons.  
(lease cited, no details, in Chancery case between Richard Pylston, to whom Parsons had released mill, and George Eliot: P.R.O.: C.2/Eliz./p.14/14)
  
20. 24 May 1544 Bonner leased lands in Fulham to Edward Buttes for 60 years at £5 p.a. (lease cited in Receiver-General's account roll for 1555-1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.11).
  
21. 2 September 1545 Bonner leased half the manor of Hornsey alias Harringay to William Mountjoy.  
(lease cited, no details, in will of William Mountjoy: P.C.C., 41 Brundenell).

22. 2 September 1545 Bonner leased toll of town of Highgate to Thomas Parsons and William Mountjoy. (lease cited, no details, in William Mountjoy's will. Mountjoy bequeathed  $\frac{1}{2}$  the toll, and also  $\frac{1}{2}$  share of the little park of Harringay alias Hornsey. In 1591 a lease made by Parsons and Mountjoy to George Wraie of the toll was cited in a case in the Court of Requests: P.C.C., 41 Brudenell, P.R.O.: Req. 2/86/6, f.9).
23. 24 September 1545 Bonner leased the manor of Orsett to John Broughton for 60 years at £20 p.a. (lease cited in letters patent of 11 February 19 Elizabeth (1577), quoted in Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections, iv, p.130, Manuscripts of Major Monty-Kyrle, ed. W.D.Macray.)
24. 30 November 1545 Bonner leased parcel of land in Hackney Marsh, late in the tenure of William Pate, to Robert Lawrence, to hold from Michaelmas 1545 for 30 years at £2.13.4 p.a. (Reg. Bon., ff.87-87v.)
25. 24 June 1546 Bonner leased Rushmeadow in Hadham to Clement Newce for 30 years at £1.4.5 p.a. (lease cited in Receiver-General's account roll for 1555-1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.5d. It is possible that Newce may be identified with Clement Nuse who in a Chancery case between 1556 and 1558 was described as "of London mercer": P.R.O.: C.I/1411/33-4. Clement may have been related to Roger Newes who held a farm of 2 tenements in the parish of St. Michael le Querne at £5 p.a. by indenture. Unfortunately no details of the lease to Roger survive and so it is impossible to tell whether he also received this farm from Bonner. For reference to Roger Newes' tenure and the other leases in London for which no details survive see, P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.16).

26. 12 October 1546 Bonner leased the manor place of Stepney and woods and lands worth £19.19.1 p.a. to Thomas Parsons (lease cited in a note, date uncertain, probably compiled by Thomas Wilson "bearebrewer" who claimed the right to these lands under the indenture to Parsons: B.M.: Egerton, 3006, ff.1-2v.)
27. 14 October 1546 Bonner leased the farm of the manor of Wormeholte to William Mountjoy. (lease cited no details, in William Mountjoy's will, 1584. In 1584 the farm was in the tenure of William Nedeler and the lease had some years to run. In 1559-1560 William Mountjoy and Thomas Parsons were described in the Receiver-General's account roll as farmers of Wormeholt, holding by virtue of an indenture made to John Chauncey on 20 March 1535: P.C.C., 41 Brudenell, P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.9).
28. 4 February 1547 Bonner leased a parcel of wood (c. 1 acre) in Copford to Edward Mowle for 10 years at 6d. a year.  
(P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.1).
29. 23 June 1548 Bonner leased the reversion of the manor of Fonehope, Herefordshire, to Richard and Roger Lechmere and Thomas Serle to hold from Michaelmas 1559 for £17.2.6 p.a. (lease cited in a deed of 7 May 1567: Lechmere, Box 6(i)/1).
30. 4 October 1548 Bonner leased a shop in the churchyard of St. Paul's, London to Robert Spayne for 30 years at £1.6.8 p.a.  
(Reg. Bon., f.126. Robert Spayne was still a tenant of property on the southern side of St. Paul's at Michaelmas 1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.16d.)
31. 20 October 1548 Bonner leased a field called Lucy's Parcel in Copford to Bernard Kingston, citizen and cordwainer, and Robert Kingston of littell Bentley, husbandman.  
(Reg. Bon., ff.126v.-127. Lease referred to: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M, m.1 and Particular for lease (Augmentations), P.R.O.: E.310/13/41, f.1).

32. 1 October 1555 Bonner leased land in Greenford to Thomas Thorndeton for 80 years at £5 p.a.  
(lease cited in Receiver-General's account roll for 1555-1556: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.14d. See also Account roll for 1559-1560: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.10d).
33. n.d. Bonner made an indenture with John Montayne alias Mountayne for the demesne of the manor of Knoll and diverse pastures, grounds, woods, mills waste and meadow of the manor.  
(lease cited, no details, in Chancery case of 1593. In 1555-1556 Sir John Coope paid a fine of £20 to renew the indenture of Richard Busbye of the manor of Knoll: P.R.O.: C.2/Eliz./C.12/18; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2).
34. 20 November 1556 Bonner leased the manor of Church Hall in Kelvedon to William Mountjoy.  
(lease cited, no details, in will of William Mountjoy, 1584. George Browne was farmer of the manor in 1555-1556, 1559-1560 and 1560-1561 and John Browne in 1567-1568 and at Mountjoy's death. The lease to Mountjoy may have been a reversion because in the Receiver-General's account roll of 1555-1556 a lease of the manor to Robert Marler for 35 years in 1535 was cited: P.C.C. 41 Brudenell; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.4d.; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.3; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1462, m.1; G.L.Ms. 10123/4, f.4v.; P.R.O.: Req. 2/53/4, f.4; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.4d.)
35. 20 November 1556 Bonner leased the reversion of the manor of Fering to William Mountjoy, Tristram Swaddle and Edmund Lechmere to hold from 1604, for 40 years.  
(lease cited, no details, in deed of 30 May 1584: Lechmere Box 7(11)/2. In his will William Mountjoy referred to the reversion of which in 1584 he held 2 parts of the three: P.C.C. 41 Brudenell. In 1538 Fering was leased to Anne Clerke by the Abbot and Convent of Westminster for 24 years. Anne Clerke leased the manor to Reginald Highgate: G.L.Ms. 10123/4, f.3. In the deed of 1584 reference was made to a lease of Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster of the manor to Reginald Highgate for 60 years at £27 p.a. In his will William Mountjoy

left the manor of Feringbury in Fering, which he held by virtue of an indenture of Thirlby to Reinold Hygate of 29 June 1544, to his four sons)

36. 10 May 1557

Bonner leased lands in Orsett to Thomas Johnson for 21 years at £2.13.4 p.a. (lease cited in particular for lease (Augmentations), 1576: P.R.O.: E.310/13/44, f.36).

37. 23 May 1558

Bonner leased the park of Ridmerley D'Abitot to William Mountjoy. (lease cited, no details, in William Mountjoy's will: P.C.C. 41 Brudenell, and in P.R.O.: Req. 2/36/52, and in P.R.O.: C.78/27, no.17, m.19).

38. n.d.

Bonner leased the mill at Ridmerley D'Abitot to Thomas Serle and William Stone. (lease cited, no details, in P.R.O.: Req. 2/36/52, m.3 and P.R.O.: C.78/27, no.17, m.19).

39. 1553-1558

Bonner leased the Park at Bushley to Richard Lechmere. (lease cited, no details, in a letter of the Council of 20 April 1591: PRO S.P. 12/238, f.127).

Appendix x.Leases and offices granted by Bonner to his friends and relatives.i) Richard Lechmere

- a) 1539 Bonner leased farm of lands in  
Harringay to Lechmere (and Serle) App.ix (1)
- 1540 Bonner leased farm of park at  
Harringay to Lechmere (and Serle) App.ix (2)
- 1548 Bonner leased reversion of the  
manor of Fonehope to Lechmere  
(and Serle and Roger Lechmere) .. App.ix (29)
- 1553-1558 Bonner leased park at Bushley to  
Richard Lechmere .. .. App.ix (39)
- b) 1555-1556 Richard Lechmere (with Thomas  
Parsons alias Fayrbrother, Will-  
iam Mountjoy, Roger Lechmere,  
John Broughton and Eustace Knight-  
ley) held the farm of 164 acres  
at Hadham, late in the tenure of P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./  
Edmund Spendlove, for £3.10.2pa., 193, m.6.  
which farm was conceded to them  
"p(er) quodd(a)m scriptu(m) sub  
sigillo" of Edmund Bonner. They  
also held other lands in Hadham  
by the same tenure. .. ..  
At Michaelmas 1560 Richard and  
the other five men held these  
lands conceded "p(er) quodd(a)m  
scriptu(m) sub sigill(o) d(o)m-  
(ino) Ed(mund)i nunc Ep(iscop)i  
London(ensi)". Either Grindal P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./  
regranted these lands in the same 1458, m.4.  
way, or the Auditor's clerk made  
a slip when he inserted the "nunc"  
in writing out the Receiver-Gen-  
eral's account roll. .. ..

N.B. Edmund Spendlove was probably a relative of  
Bishop Stokesley, for the latter's mother was Margaret,  
daughter of Edward Spendlove: see biography of John  
Stokesley in D.N.B.

- c) 1540 Richard Lechmere (and Thomas Serle)  
was keeper of woods at Finchley and  
Harringay. .. .. App.ix(2)  
1549-1550 } P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw.  
1555-1556 } Richard Lechmere was Bailiff VI/306, m.2d.  
at Bushley. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./  
193, m.18d.

ii) Roger Lechmere

- a) 1548 Bonner leased the reversion of the  
farm of the manor of Fonehope to  
Roger (with Richard Lechmere and  
Thomas Serle) .. .. App.ix (29)
- b) 1555-1556 Roger Lechmere held lands in Hadham  
with five others: .. .. App. x (i(b))

iii) Edmund Lechmere

- a) 1556 Bonner leased the reversion of the  
manor of Fering to Edmund (with  
William Mountjoy and Tristram  
Swaddl) .. .. App.ix (35)

iv) Thomas Serle

- a) 1539 Bonner leased farm of lands in  
Harringay to Serle (and Richard  
Lechmere) .. .. App.ix (1)
- 1540 Bonner leased park at Harringay  
to Serle (and Richard Lechmere) App.ix (2)
- 1548 Bonner leased reversion of the  
manor of Fonehope to Serle (and  
Richard and Roger Lechmere) .. App.ix (28)
- b) 1540 Thomas Serle (and Richard Lech-  
mere) was keeper of woods at  
Finchley and Harringay .. App.ix (2)
- 1555-1556 Thomas Serle was Bailiff at Rid-  
merley. .. .. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./  
193, m.17d.

v) Philip Mountjoy and Margaret his wife

- a) 1541 Bonner leased manor of Copford to Philip and Margaret Mountjoy (and William Mountjoy) .. App.ix (15)
- 1544 Bonner leased manor of Stortford to Philip and Margaret Mountjoy (and William Mountjoy and Thomas Parsons) .. .. App.ix (18)
- b) 1546 Philip Mongey (i.e. Mountjoy) was bailiff of Stortford and held there, presumably by copyhold, a tenement, about 11 acres of demesne and the millgate. .. P.R.O.: S.C.11/299.
- 1549-1550 Margaret Mountjoy, widow, occupied the office of bailiff at Stortford, rendering the account to the Receiver-General of the diocese. .. .. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw. VI/306, m.1d.

vi) William Mountjoy

- a) 1541 Bonner leased tenements in Pater Noster Row to Mountjoy .. App.ix (14)
- 1541 Bonner leased manor of Copford to Mountjoy (and Philip and Margaret Mountjoy) .. .. App.ix (15)
- 1544 Bonner leased manor of Stortford to Mountjoy (and Philip and Margaret Mountjoy and Thomas Parsons: (see below App.ix (vii.a) note)) App.ix (18)
- 1545 Bonner leased  $\frac{1}{2}$  manor of Hornsey to Mountjoy .. .. App.ix (21)
- 1545 Bonner leased toll of Highgate to Mountjoy (and Thomas Parsons).. App.ix (22)
- 1546 Bonner leased manor of Wormeholt to Mountjoy (and Thomas Parsons) App.ix (29)
- 1556 Bonner leased reversion of Fering to Mountjoy (and Tristram Swaddle and Edmund Lechmere) .. App.ix (35)
- 1556 Bonner leased reversion of Kelve- don to Mountjoy .. .. App.ix (34)
- 1558 Bonner leased park of Ridmerley to Mountjoy .. .. App.ix (37)



- b) 1555-1556 William Mountjoy held land in Hadham  
with 5 others .. .. App.ix (1)
- c) 1555-1556 William Mountjoy was bailiff at Copford .. .. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.1.  
1555-1556 William Mountjoy was custodian of the bishop's palace at Fulham.. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2d.

N.B. At his death in 1585 William Mountjoy was reputed to have goods and chattels worth more than £7000:  
P.R.O.: Req. 2/53/4, f.4.

vii) Thomas Parsons alias Fayrbrother

- a) 1541 Bonner leased the farm of the parsonage of Broxbourne to Thomas Parsons (with John and Joan Moryce) .. .. App.ix (13)
- 1544 Bonner leased the manor of Storteford to Thomas Parsons (and Philip and Margaret Mountjoy and William Mountjoy) .. App.ix (18)
- n.d. Bonner leased the mill at Storteford to Thomas Parsons .. App.ix (19)

N.B. After the death of Philip Mountjoy, Margaret Mountjoy became bailiff at Storteford. In 1555-1556 and 1559-1560 Thomas Parsons (described as farmer of Storteford) accounted to the Receiver-General for the farm and the profits of the manorial court. In 1560-1561 Parsons was described as bailiff at Storteford. William Mountjoy does not seem to have shared either in the farm or the bailiwick, when the accounts were rendered to the Receiver. At his death Mountjoy was in receipt of an annuity of £10 a year from the manor of Storteford: P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.7; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1458, m.5; P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1462, m.1d.; P.R.O. Req.2/53/4, f.4; P.C.C. 41 Brudenell.

- 1545 Bonner leased the toll at Highgate to Thomas Parsons (and William Mountjoy) .. App.ix (22)
- 1546 Bonner leased the manor place of Stepney to Thomas Parsons .. App.ix (26)

- b) 1546 Thomas Parsons held land in Stortford, presumably by copyhold worth 8/- a year .. P.R.O.: S.C.11/299.
- 1555-1556 Thomas Parsons held land in Hadham with 5 others .. App.x (1.b)
- 1555-1556 Thomas Parsons held a tenement in The Old Chaunge, London ... P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.17.
- 1559-1560 Thomas Parsons was joint farmer with William Mountjoy of manor of Wormeholt .. App.ix (27)
- c) 1549-1550 .. Thomas Parsons .. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw. VI/306, m.2d.
- 1555-1556 .. was collector .. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.16d.
- 1560-1561 .. of the Rents of .. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Eliz./1462, m.2.
- 1567-1568 .. St. Paul's .. G.L.Ms. 10123/4, ff.23v.-24.
- 1549-1550 Thomas Parsons was custodian of the bishop's palace at Fulham.. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Edw. VI/306, m.3.
- 1555-1556 Thomas Parsons was Deputy to the Receiver-General .. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.3d, 20d.
- 1555-1556 Thomas Parsons was Bailiff of the liberties of Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex ..
- 1555-1556 Thomas Parsons was Custodian of the bishop's Palace at Hadham.. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, 2d.
- 1555-1556 Thomas Parsons was Keeper of the bishop's Palace by St. Paul's.. P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, m.17.
- 1555-1556 Thomas Parsons was Doorkeeper of the bishop's Palace by St. Paul's )

Appendix xi.Fees to Diocesan OfficialsCentral Officials.

<u>Office</u>	<u>1535</u>	<u>1545</u>	<u>1549- 1550</u>	<u>1550</u>	<u>1555- 1556</u>
Seneschal of all Lordships	10. 0. 0.		10. 0. 0.		10. 0. 0.
Receiver-General	13. 6. 8.		13. 6. 8.		(13. 6. 8.)
Auditor	5.10. 0.		16. 3. 4.		16. 3. 4.
Bailiff of the liberties of Surrey, Sussex, Middx.	5.10. 0.		10. 8. 3.		5.10. 0.
Bailiff of the liberties in Essex and Herts.			5.10. -.		
Keeper of the palace at Fulham			5. 0. 0.		5. 0. 0.
Keeper of the palace at Hadham					5.13. 4.
Keeper of the palace by St. Paul's					5.13. 4.
Doorkeeper of the palace by St. Paul's					2.13. 4.
Collector of rents at St. Paul's					5. 0. 0.
Keeper of the woods at Finchley and Haringay			3. 6. 8.		
Auditor of the Bishop of Westminster			4.10. 0.	4.10. 0.	4. 0. 0.
Bailiff of the liberties of the Bishop of Westminster				5. 0. 0.	
Keeper of the Bishop of Westminster's gaol at Westminster	6. 1. 8.			6. 1. 8.	6. 1. 8.
Keeper of the Bishop's gaol at Stamford	6. 1. 8.				6. 1. 8 + 16/8.
Bishop's attorney in King's Bench					13. 4.
Bishop's attorney in Exchequer					13. 4.

Local Officials.

<u>Office</u>	<u>1535</u>	<u>1545</u>	<u>1549- 1550</u>	<u>1550</u>	<u>1555- 1556</u>
Bailiff at Hadham	2. 6. 8.				2. 0. 0.+ 6/8.
Collector at Hadham	6. 8.				-
Bailiff at Stort- ford	4.10. 0.				6. 8.
Bailiff at Copford	2. 2. 8.				2. 0. 0.
Bailiff at Clacton	1.13. 4.	1.13. 4.	property to Crown	- - - - -	- - - - -
Keeper of Park at Clacton		5. 0. 0.	property to Crown	- - - - -	- - - - -
Keeper of Park at Aulton		3. 0.10.	property to Crown	- - - - -	- - - - -
Bailiff of Wikeham	13. 4.				15. 0.
Bailiff of Orsett	2.13. 4.				3. 6. 8.
Bailiff of Crondon	5. 0.	property to Crown	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
Bailiff of Layndon	1. 0. 0.				1. 0. 0.
Keeper of woods at Layndon	-				6. 8.
Bailiff at Stepney	3. 7. 6.		property to Crown	- - - - -	- - - - -
Collector of Marsh at Stepney	6. 8.		property to Crown	- - - - -	- - - - -
Bailiff of Hackney	1. 0. 0.		property to Crown	- - - - -	- - - - -
Bailiff at Fulham	2. 6. 8.				2. 6. 8.
Bailiff at Ealing	2.10.10.				3. 0.10.+10/-
Bailiff at Finchley	4. 0.				13. 4.
Collector at Harringay	2. 6. 8.				13. 4.
Farmer at Kelvedon					6. 8.
Collector at Fering					3. 1. 4.+ 13/4
Collector at Kel- vedon					1. 6. 8.
Farmer at Fanton					6. 8.
Bailiff at Rickmans- worth				2. 6. 8.	3. 3. 0.+ 10/-
Farmer at Rickmans- worth				10. 0.	6. 8.
Collector at Ashwell					3.16. 8.
Collector at Stev- enage					2.16. 8.
Farmer at Wormeholt					6. 8.
Bailiff at Green- ford					10. 0.
Collector in London					2. 0. 0.

<u>Office</u>	<u>1535</u>	<u>1545</u>	<u>1549-1550</u>	<u>1550</u>	<u>1555-1556</u>
Bailiff of Ridmerley		1.10. 4.			(3. 0. 8.)
Keeper of park of		(1.10. 4.			
Ridmerley		(3.10. 0.			(3. 0. 8.)
Bailiff of Bushley		1. 0. 0.			1. 0. 0.
Keeper of park of		(3. 0. 8.			
Bushley		(4. 0. 0.			-
Bailiff of Fone-					
hope		3. 0. 8.			6. 1. 4.+ 6/8
Seneschal of Fone-					
hope		1.13. 4.			-
Bailiff of Swelle		3. 4.			6. 8.
Bailiff of Knoll				1. 0. 0. 3.	3. 3. 4.+ 6/8

Notes: i) Sources for 1535 figures: Valor, i, p.357

1545 : P.R.O.: E.318/721

1549-1550 : P.R.O.: S.C.VI/Edw.VI/306, m.3, m.3d.

1550 : C.P.R., 1549-1551, p.263 and C.P.R., 1553-1554, p.120.

1555-1556 : P.R.O.: S.C.6/Ph.&M./194, m.2d.; P.R.O. S.C.6/Ph.&M./193, passim.

ii) In 1555-1556 the Receiver-General and the officers at Ridmerley were not paid their fees.

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St. Ch.          Court of Star Chamber, Proceedings, Henry VIII.

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